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BEROLINI ET NOVI EBORACI MCMLXXXX

MICHAELIS PSELLI
HISTORIA SYNTOMOS

EDITIO PRINCEPS

RECENSUIT, ANGLICE VERTIT
ET COMMENTARIO INSTRUXIT
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IN MEMORIAM
HERMANNI J. SCHELTEMA

IURIS ROMANI PROFESSORIS GRONINGANI,
QUI HOC OPUS INCOHAVERAT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the beginning of the seventies the late Prof. Mr. H. J. Scheltema, professor of Roman Law and famous editor of the *Basilica*, brought together a group of colleagues, collaborators and students for the study of a text of Michael Psellos, which had remained unnoticed until then. This reading group consisted of the late Prof. Dr. Elisabeth Visser, Prof. Scheltema, his collaborators Mr. J. H. A. Lokin, Mr. N. van der Wal, Mr. W. J. Zwalve, and further Mr. G. A. A. Kortekaas, Mr. J. M. M. Hermans, the students Mr. G. Hazenberg and Mr. Z. von Martels, and myself. This co-operative endeavour, useful, stimulating and pleasant as it might be, neither tended to accelerate matters nor made them more accurate. In the end it was decided that I would prepare an edition of the text for publication in a periodical. This, however, turned out to be an impossible option: not only was the text too extensive for publication in a periodical, but also there were too many problems asking for commentary, too many parallels requiring broader reconsideration, and last but not least, it seemed to be suitable to make a full translation of the text. In addition, I became more and more convinced that the authorship of Psellos was far from probable. Pursuing this conviction took considerable time. That I have nevertheless decided, after long consideration, to maintain the name of Michael Psellos in the title of this book, found its justification in the fact that I did not like to interfere with the discussion to come. I completed this work shortly before the XVIth International Byzantine Congress held in Vienna, and I found the publisher E. Forsten of Bouma's Boekhuis at Groningen prepared to bring out the book. An announcement was made for the Congress.

During the Congress I was invited by Prof. Dr. H. Hunger, Vorsitzender der Kommission zur Herausgabe des *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, who had glanced over my copy, to make it available for the CFHB. On the one hand I felt honoured by this invitation and Mr. Forsten made no objection to free the way for a publication in the *Corpus*, on the other I was sent into a direction with many incalculable complications. Publication in Holland according to CFHB standards turned out not to be very realistic and the matter was put before Prof. Dr. H. G. Beck and Prof. Dr. A. Kambylis, who adopted the work for the *Series Berolinensis*. Prof. Kambylis' very great experience and his warm interest in the subject created an atmosphere of fruitful discussion of the many puzzling passages in which this seemingly harmless text abounds. I am not only very grateful to him for his cooperation, but perhaps even more for his intervening at several

levels to see the work published in accordance with my conception. I am also grateful to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and its reviewers for making the publication financially possible. I thank the Publisher's House Walter de Gruyter and especially Prof. Dr. H. Wenzel and his staff for their kind efficiency. And, of course, I wish to thank many others. There is Mr. Dale Carr who has spent many a weekend with me in order to make my English translation as adequate and English as possible. There is my studentassistant Miss Martha Sebens who prepared the Name and Word Indices. There are the secretaries Mrs. M. de Vries-Hemmes, Mrs. A. Eekhof-Koekkoek and Mrs. L. van Moorsel-Darneviel who at different stages typed the text, commentaries, translation, indices etc.

I also wish to apologize to those who as early as 1981 showed their interest in the publication and have had to wait till now for its realisation. Even if the delay was not in proportion to the improvements of the edition, they can be sure that this is a better one than the 'blue-print' of 1981.

To conclude: it seemed well suited to me to dedicate this work to the initiator of the project, the late Professor H. J. Scheltema.

INTRODUCTION

The Work and its Author

The title of the *Historia Syntomos*, of which the *editio princeps* is presented here, names as its author the 'very most famous, honourable Psellos' (ὁ ἐρικυδέστατος ὑπέρτιμος ὁ Ψελλός).

If this statement is correct, I can feel relieved of the obligation to repeat what has been said on the life and works of this Byzantine polyhistor by many others.[1] The one thing for me to do is to consider on which occasion and / or at which point in his career Psellos could possibly have written this short History, which seems to be intended as a 'mirror of princes'.[2]

Here one meets with a series of difficulties. One of the most serious is the fact that Psellos himself, who is anything but averse to self-glorification, does not say a word about this other historical activity next to his Chronographia.[3] In *Const. IX*, LXXIII Psellos ventures his ideas about historical writing. The chapter makes clear not only that Psellos is thinking of only one activity of his own in this field, namely his composition of the Chronographia, but also that he rejects for his own work the common approaches, such as annals and chronicles. It is out of the question, in my opinion, that Psellos would not have mentioned here his other historical work, the *Historia Syntomos*, either to adstruct his skill in the field or to distance himself from a conception he had practiced himself earlier, if he had already completed that work at the moment he wrote the passage mentioned.

Neither does Psellos in the outline of his own education (*Const. IX*, XXXVI) make reference to any activity in historical writing.[4]

As has been said, the *Historia Syntomos* seems to be intended as a mirror of princes. Thus it is a rather obvious supposition that Psellos wrote this work for use in the education of the young Michael VII. But neither is there in the second part of the Chronographia an allusion to such a work,

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[1] E. g. Renauld in his edition of Michel Psellos, *Chronographie*, Introduction, H. Hunger HPLB, I 372 ff.

[2] See chapter 15, where the author his (unknown) addressee invites "either to imitate the good deeds of the emperors, or to criticise and to despise the bad ones".

[3] The first line of the *Chronography* has clearly be intented to follow up the end of the *History* of Leo Diaconus. It seems clear, that, if the *Historia Syntomos* is a work of Psellos, it did not exist at the moment he started his *Chronographia* (see also Introd. p. XII).

[4] Psellos refers to his rhetorical and philosophical activities and the necessary preparatory studies.

nor does the *Historia Syntomos* (e. g. 10,61) itself make the slightest indication of the personage, who is addressed to, though Psellos in his Chronographia more than once includes this kind of indication (espec. *Const. IX*, XXVIII, 4–10, *Mich. VII*, XI 10, *ibid.* XIII 12). On the other hand one should notice that in the description of Michael VII's interests there are some points which recall the *Historia Syntomos*: Michael loves "characteristic wise words, Laconian sayings, sentence-books ... etc."

The *Historia Syntomos* comprises, indeed, a considerable number of sayings of a series of emperors. As far as I was able to find out, only a few of these sayings come from the common collections of apophthegms, or have parallels in other writings. None of them is related to the Laconian sayings.

Taking all the arguments together: from Psellos' own utterances rises little or no reason to believe that Psellos actually wrote a *Historia Syntomos*.

In relation to this question it is necessary, however, to deal with a statement of Scylitzes in the Proëm to his Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν. Ἀ Σικελιώτης διδάσκαλος, says he (3,18 Thurn), and ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ὑπέρτιμος ὁ Ψέλλος wrote histories, indeed, but 'not very seriously, with little accuracy, ignoring the most important events and therefore worthless for later generations, making only enumerations of the emperors, instructing who succeded to whom on the throne, and further nothing'.

In an earlier article I have already made objections to the position of Ja. N. Ljubarsky[5], who states that Scylitzes possibly alludes to this *Historia Syntomos* (supposing Psellos to be its author).

The same position is taken by Kenneth Snipes, who paid attention to the *Historia Syntomos* in two articles, 1) A newly discovered historical Work of Michael Psellos (in: 3rd Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts, New York 1977, 57 f.); 2) A newly discovered History of the Roman Emperors by Michael Psellos (in: Akten II/3, XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress = JÖB 32/2, Wien 1982, 53–61). In the latter Snipes writes (p. 55): "The authenticity of the *Historia Syntomos* as a genuine work of Psellos is strongly supported by the description of the historical work of Psellos given by his contemporary, the chronicler Joannes Skylitzes. Etc. ... " I will go somewhat further into this question. Scylitzes' remark is not free of malevolence, in my opinion. This malevolence is the more obvious, if we assume that he had in mind the *Historia Syntomos* as a work of Psellos. Why would he attack the composition of this work, when he must have known the much more important Chronographia? For, as has been argued above, Psellos can hardly have written the *Historia*

[5] W. J. Aerts, *Un témoin inconnu de la Chronographie de Psellos* in ByzSl. XLI 1980, 1 ff., quoting (note 4) Ja. N. Ljubarskij, Михаил Пселл, личность и творчество. К истории византийского предгуманизма, Moskva 1978.

Syntomos earlier than the first part of the Chronographia, because he certainly would have mentioned it. Besides, if Scylitzes had the Chronography in mind, his malevolence is not diminished, for it is impossible to qualify this work as merely and alone an enumeration of emperors.

Scylitzes' statement might nevertheless be important in respect to the *Historia Syntomos*. We shall have to suppose then, that only a part of the statement applies to Psellos.

In Scylitzes' opinion the Chronographia can be a πάρεργον because Psellos' fame was mainly based on his being a philosopher, statesman and a celebrated rhetor; the Chronographia also lacks historical accuracy and leaves important events unmentioned. The qualifications which do not apply to the *Chronographia* must refer then to the work of that Σικελιώτης διδάσκαλος, and could that be the *Historia Syntomos*? Even if so one has to face some problems: a qualification like 'enumeration of emperors' does injustice also to the *Historia Syntomos*, with its rather ample descriptions of e. g. Nikephoros II Phokas and Basil II, whereas the comparison of a work such as the *Historia Syntomos* with works like the Chronicles of Theophanes Confessor and George the Monk is bound to be unfair to the *Historia Syntomos*. On the other hand it is tempting, indeed, to suppose that Scylitzes had in mind the *Historia Syntomos*, not however as being a work of Psellos, but of this Σικελιώτης διδάσκαλος.

Unfortunately, this name covers a problematic figure. Hunger, HPLB II 497 (Verzeichnis der Autoren, Titel und Sachen) mentions a Johannes Sikeliotes (Rhetor) who had, in his young days, the honour to address a welcome speech to the Emperor Basil II at the occasion of his visit to the Pikridiou Monastery (Hunger *ibid.* I 83, 145), and a "Johannes Sikeliotes" (Historiker), who did not, probably, exist at all (Hunger *ibid.* I 476, based on Otto Kresten: Phantomgestalten in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte in JÖB 25, Wien 1976, 207–222, esp. 213–217). The cases of forgery registered by Kresten are clear enough, but these facts do not eliminate the mentioning of a historian (Johannes?) Sikeliotes by Scylitzes and there is no obvious reason for throwing doubt upon this piece of information. An identification of the Σικελιώτης διδάσκαλος with the rhetor Johannes Sikeliotes meets neither objection in Johannes' life period nor in the supposition that Johannes besides his rhetorical works wrote a concise historical work. This objection, however, results rather from the difference in style between the rhetorical works and the *Historia Syntomos*. Johannes demonstrates in his rhetorical works (as to be expected with an author who commented ancient theoretical works on rhetoric) a rather strict attic(istic) use of language, a use of language that forms a striking contrast to the linguistic setting of the *Historia Syntomos*. Especially on these grounds I consider an identification of Johannes Sikeliotes with the Σικελιώτης διδάσκαλος as improbable.

Another supposition could be that under this name could possibly hide a man like Johannes Italos, who, according to Anna Comnena (I 257,2) had lived a considerable time in Sicily before he immigrated into Constantinople. If acceptable, it would provide a reasonable explanation of how the *Historia Syntomos* came together with the Chronographia in the *Sinaïticus*, and even how this work of the unpopular Italos was later ascribed to his teacher Psellos. Though not unimportant I will not insist further on this latter point because it disposes of some, but not all problems. I prefer to continue the question whether Psellos can be the author of the *Historia Syntomos* or not.

The *Historia Syntomos* ends with the reign of Basil II, whose rulership is the first to be dealt with in the *Chronographia*. A comparison of both presentations furnishes, besides a number of striking correspondences, also a number of striking discrepancies. The introductory chapter of the *Chronographia* poses at once a series of problems. Psellos begins with the death of Johannes Tzimiskes (on the spelling Τζιμισκῆς (*Chron.*) vs. Τζιμισχής (*H.S.*) see the *Commentary ad* 98,89.) and devotes a few laudatory words to him. This little chapter has no other intention than to connect with the end of the *Histories* of Leo Diaconus, who concludes his work with some remarks in praise of Tzimiskes, mentioning the duration of his reign. It proves again, in my opinion, that, at least when Psellos started his *Chronographia*, he had not (yet) written the *Historia Syntomos*. And this *Historia Syntomos* too asks a riddle at this point: after introducing Nikephoros and Tzimiskes at the beginning of § 105, the author says (100,4.5): ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Τζιμισχὴς ἀναμεινάτω τὸν λόγον 'as to Tzimiskes, he will have his story later'. One may ask: 'when?', for there follows no chapter on Tzimiskes. It is related, indeed, how Tzimiskes took possession of the throne, but then the story continues with the reign of Basil II. I assume that this chapter on Tzimiskes did exist, indeed, though it is anything but certain, and the reason for its disappearance is only open to guess. There are, however, also some clear relationships between the two works. One of these relationships can be seen in the story of the uprisings of Bardas Skleros and Bardas Phokas. Skleros is the first who makes an attempt to win the throne; Basil and his advisers can think of no better plan than to call upon Phokas to fight the rebel. Striking is that Psellos *Bas. II*, V 17 speaks of 'a certain Bardas' (Βάρδαν τινά), but further the resemblance with 106, 14–16 is obvious: *Bas. II*, V 15–22: ἔπειτα δέ ... καὶ Βάρδαν τινά, εὐγενέστατον ἄνδρα καὶ γενναιότατον, τοῦ βασιλέως Νικηφόρου ἀδελφιδοῦν ... ἀντιστησόμενον ἐκπεπόμφασιν *vs.* 106, 14–16 Εἶθ' ὁ τούτου ὁμώνυμος, ἀδελφιδοῦς δὲ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Νικηφόρου τοῦ Φωκᾶ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκληρὸν παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐκπεμφθεὶς ...

In the passages comparing the two antagonists, however, the *Chronographia* and the *Historia Syntomos* have points in common in the description

of Bardas Phokas (*Bas. II*, VII 4–9 *vs.* 106, 20–23) but almost nothing in the portrait of Bardas Skleros (*Bas. II*, V 3–8 *vs.* 106, 22–24).

Both presentations bring the duel between Skleros and Phokas. Some features are the same, some differ. Thus the *Chronographia*, *Bas. II*, VIII 5 ff., tells that Skleros could deal the first blow because he violated the rules of the duel; this detail is absent in the *Historia Syntomos*: the adversaries had already parried several blows before Skleros made his first hit.

The *Historia Syntomos* spends not a word on Skleros' flight to Syria, but both have the decisive struggle of Basil against Bardas Phokas: Phokas dies before the actual combat has begun. The *Historia Syntomos* says that Basil suggested (or, if φησί = φασί[6]: it was suggested he did) that he himself had taken care that Phokas should be poisoned; Psellos gives in *Bas. II*, XVI several versions: 1) Phokas was hit by a spear (Basil's brother Constantine boasted it was his) 2) Phokas was poisoned (so said the public; Basil had given the charge and Phokas' cup-bearer had accomplished the deed). But he does not know what really happened: he makes the Mother of God responsible!

It would lead too far to go into all the details of both stories. I will restrict myself to yet one other peculiarity. It seems as if the *Historia Syntomos* brings its presentation in a reversed order in comparison with the *Chronography*: it starts with the remark that Basil was the emperor who lived and reigned longer than any other emperor; the *Chronography* ends with this remark. In the *H.S.* the struggles with the Bardae precede the dismissal of the *parakoimomenos* Basil; in *Chron.* the reverse. The *H.S.* puts the description of Bardas Phokas before Bardas Skleros; the *Chron.* describes Skleros first.

All in all, I think that the *Historia Syntomos* has used some information from the *Chronography* and it is improbable, in my opinion, that both presentations were put forward by one and the same author.

In the chapter on the *manuscript* I shall discuss the dislocated § 77. The same chapter raises another problem. Speaking about the prince Constantine III, our author stresses both his lack of importance and his orthodoxy, in contradistinction to his father's heretical conceptions. This remark on the man's orthodoxy is introduced by the words "one of the authors who wrote a history of the emperors convinces me that ... etc." The only author who provides a similar remark on Constantine's orthodoxy is Zonaras III 216, 10–12.[7] Bury LRE II 283 glancing at the same subject

[6] It should be noticed that Psellos himself does not use φησί = φασί, as far as can be distilled from E. Renauld, *Etude*.

[7] Besides some later authors, such as Glykas. The same remark can, indeed, be found in Leontios of Neapolis *Vita Joh. Eleemonis* cap. V, ed. A. J. Festugière p. 350, 31–36, but it is highly improbable that Leontios was the author referred to. Furthermore, the authenticity of the passage in Leontios is a point of discussion, cf. Festugière *o. c.* p. 274.

gives one single reference: the passage mentioned in Zonaras. See also A. N. Stratos, Byzantium in the VIIth century, II p. 181. Many sources, of course, are lost and both our author and Zonaras might have used a common source (now lost), which contained this piece of information. But there is the possibility that the information was drawn from Zonaras, in which case Psellos or a contemporary of his cannot be considered the author of the *Historia Syntomos*. Just this chapter 77 might be a later interpolation for which information from Zonaras could have been the basis.

I have also paid ample attention to the use of language in the *Historia Syntomos*. If written by Psellos, a considerable conformity in the use of language between e. g. the *Chronographia* and the *Historia Syntomos* should be expected. The use of linguistic criteria for proving or denying authorship is certainly precarious. Nevertheless I will venture some observations at this point.

The author of the *Historia Syntomos* uses the late Atticistic or 'Attiquarian' style of the period. His language is in general, however, less elaborate and less complicated than in Psellos' *Chronographia*. But the subject may account for this. Apart from these restrictions, however, there are a number of striking points.

In 60,84 the *Historia Syntomos* writes ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθένα instead of ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ, εἰς ἕκαστον (Zon. III 192, 16, 18), ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ ἀνδρὶ (Anon. Sath. 105,27), ὑπὲρ μιᾶς ἑκάστης ψυχῆς (Glyk. 508, 14–15). Not only the use of καθείς instead of ἕκαστος, but even more the genitive καθένα, is 'vulgar' indeed. Neither Renauld *Et.* nor Böhlig *Unters.* mentions this pronoun, and the form is absolutely un-Psellian, i. e. either the form should be emended as having slipped in through a scribe, or Psellos is not the author.

As to 98,84 εἴσεται 'he will know' I observe that the form is not mentioned by Renauld *Et.* Böhlig, *Unters.* 82 indicates that Psellos once uses εἰδήσομεν instead of εἰσόμεθα in *Scr. Min.* II 98,28.

Another striking result from an (only superficial) word registration is that there are at least 70 words used in the *Historia Syntomos* which do not occur in comparable works of Psellos. (I restricted my investigations to an (accurately corrected) wordlist of the Chronography (ed. Sathas), the 'Lexique choisi' composed by Renauld, the registers of Kurtz-Drexl to the *Scripta Minora* of Psellos and Bibl. Graeca V (Sathas)). To give a small selection I note e. g. 14,25 ἐξάγιστος, 14,39 ἡνιοχεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν, 22,81 παραψιθυρίζω, 22,83; 72,94 συνεισπίπτω, 24,22 ἀντιπεριέρχομαι, 28,5 κατατολμητίαι, 34,7 ἀθώπευτος, 38,6 λιχνεύεσθαι, 66,79 ἡμίτυφλος, 66,5 ἐμπομπεύειν, 72,14 ὀνεῖσθαι, 76,71 θεατροσκοπίαι, 76,89 τοσαυτάκις, 82,79 θηριωδία, 92,50 ἐφεστρίς, 92,54 διαπαίξας (if correct, see *comment.*), 94,12 κομμωτικά, 96,25 ἐκεχήνει, 98,84 διεξοδικός, 100,16 γλαφυρός, 106,26 μεσαίχμιον (as in Hesych.; Psellos μεταίχμιον), etc. A number of these are

discussed in the commentary. At last there are also some actual mistakes of such a serious character that one can scarcely believe that the tutor of a prince, like Psellos was, could possibly be responsible for them. To cite some of these blunders: at 12,1 a certain Kandákes is baptised by Philip. The same mistake has been made in *Ecl. Hist.* 278,25 (see also *comment.* ad 12,1), but one might expect that Psellos had sufficient knowledge of the New Testament to recognize the allusion to Act. Apost. 8,27 and to restore the person meant to his correct status of being the eunuch of Kandake, queen of Aethiopia.

42, 57–58 provides the reader with the wrong information that Valens was appointed emperor of the Western part of the empire, Valentinianus of the Eastern part.

The most horrible mistake has been offered at 50,94–95, where Zeno is said to be the son of Leo I (instead of his son-in-law); there is no chance of a corruption of the text: 50,1–2 unmistakably states that Leo's *son* Zeno had not the appearance suitable for an emperor.

At 68,9 the author tells that Heraclonas was robbed of his tongue, Martina of her nose instead of the common information of the reverse.

All the data taken together, I am of the opinion that there is a considerable number of serious objections to be made to the authorship of Psellos. Given the note in the Proëm of Scylitzes and the fact that the chapter of Nikephoros Phokas is the most extended one and that some data on Basil II and Constantine VIII seem to be borrowed from Psellos' *Chronographia*, I believe that the author must be sought between Psellos and Scylitzes, and that perhaps Joh. Italos can be taken into consideration.

On the other hand, the *Historia Syntomos* was probably longer, and it so often has either textual or 'presentational' resemblance with the Ἐπιτομὴ Ἱστοριῶν of Zonaras (as against other sources), that the time of origin of the *Historia Syntomos* may be even later than Zonaras.

The manuscript

The text of the *Historia Syntomos* has, together with the final passage of Psellos' *Chronographia*[8], been handed down in the ms. 1117 (482) of the Sinai collection. V. Beneševič had as early as 1911 given a description of this ms. in his *Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in monte Sina asservantur.* Strangely enough, the presence of this unknown work of Psellos (?) remained unnoticed until the reprint of Beneševič's book was brought out in 1965. It was then that my

[8] See my edition mentioned in note 5.

colleague, the late Professor Mr. H. J. Scheltema, ordered a microfilm of this ms. and established the so-called 'Psellos-group' of the Groningen University, which started its work in 1972. The ms. 1117 (482) is a very extensive manuscript, consisting of 372 paper sheets. The folia 2—339 have dimensions (417 × 266; 328 × 215) different from those of the folia 340—372 (347 × 250; 293 × 196), but the number of lines is in principle the same: 48. In his description Beneševič distinguished 119 items, but there are more, in fact, if one bears in mind that no. 47 should have been split up into two subjects: 1) the *Historia Syntomos* under discussion in this book, and 2) the final passage of the *Chronographia*, see note 5. It dates from the 14th century, according to Beneševič.

Because I could work from very well legible photographs, so that an edition of the text would not be very much improved by a (very expensive) consultation of the ms. itself, I will not enter into reflexions about the manuscript as such, but restrict myself to a small number of remarks that may be useful for a judgment of the character of the edited text.

One thing concerning the manuscript itself, however, is too interesting to be passed over in silence. This is a remark on f. 203^{v} on the vicissitudes of the manuscript, which deserves to be quoted in full. It is written in rather vulgar Greek and it bristles with misspellings, mostly due to itacistic mistakes. These I have silently corrected[a], using a transcript made by my colleague, Prof. Mr. N. van der Wal.

+ Ἐνθύμησιν ποιῶ ἐγὼ Ἰωσήφ, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἱερομόναχος, γέννημα καὶ θρέμμα τῆς πόλεως Μυζηθρᾶ, ὁ κατὰ κόσμον Ἰωάννης ὁ Φλεβοτόμος, υἱὸς τυγχάνων Τιμοθέου τοῦ Φλεβοτόμου, περὶ τῆς ἁγίας βίβλου ταύτης, τὸ πῶς ὑπάρχει ἡμετέρα ἤγουν πατρογονικόθεν μου. Καὶ ἐξώδιασα καὶ ἐκόπιασα καὶ ἤφερά το[b] εἰς τὴν Κορώνην, καὶ μὲ ἕτερα βιβλία διάφορα, τὸν καιρὸν ὅταν ἐπῆγεν ὁ Σινιόρος Σιγισμοῦντος μὲ τὰ φουσσάτα τῶν Βενετίκων εἰς τὸν Μυζηθρᾶν· καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ὅπου ἐξώρισεν ἡ ἀφεντία τῶν Βενετίκων τοὺς πνευματικοὺς πατέρας ἐκ τῆς νήσου Κρήτης ἐν τῷ ϛ^{ω} ϡ^{ω} ος′, μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ, ἐξῆλθεν καὶ ὁ ἐν ὁσιωτάτοις καὶ πνευματικοῖς πατράσι παπᾶς Κῦρ Νείλων[c] ὁ Καλοσυνᾶς ἐκ τὸν Ἅγιον Ἀντώνιον τὸ Βροντίσι ἐκ τὴν Κρήτην, καὶ ἐπέρασεν εἰς τὴν Κορώνην εἰς τὸ νησὶν ὀνόματι Τηγανοῦσαν, καὶ ἠγόρασεν[d] τὴν παροῦσαν βίβλον ὁ ἄνωθεν εἰρημένος παπᾶς Κῦρ Νείλων, μὴ ἐξεύρων ὅτι ὑπάρχει ἡμετέρα[c], διὰ δουκάτα β′, ἤγουν δύο δουκάτα βενέτικα. Καὶ μὴ ἐξεύρων ὁ θεῖος μου ὁ παπᾶς Κῦρ Παῦλος ὁ Φλεβοτόμος καὶ διδάσκαλος τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου, τὸ ποῦ εὑρίσκομαι, ἐπώλησεν τὴν βίβλον μου ταύτην. Καὶ ἐγὼ εὑρισκόμενος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ὄρος τοῦ Σινᾶ εἶχα μεγάλην δίψαν περὶ τῆς βίβλου ταύτης, καὶ ἐμήνυσα εἰς τὴν Κρήτην περὶ τούτου[f] πολλάκις, καὶ ἔμαθα τὸ πῶς εὑρίσκεται εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ παπᾶ Κῦρ Νείλου τοῦ Καλοσυνᾶ. Καὶ ἐπαρεκάλεσα τὸν ἅγιον τὸν οἰκονόμον τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνας[g] τῶν

Σιναϊτῶν, Κῦρ Λαυρέντιον τὸν Καλοτάριν, εἰς τὸ νὰ ἐξεδράμη[h] νὰ μοῦ ἐπάρη τὴν βίβλον ταύτην. Ὅμως δὲ ἐξέδραμεν μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ ηὗρεν τὴν βίβλον ταύτην εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ παπᾶ Κῦρ Νείλου, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔσωσεν νὰ τὴν ἐπάρη τὴν δέλτον ταύτην, διότι ἐκοιμήθη ὁ ἅγιος ὁ Κῦρ Νεῖλος. Ὅμως δὲ ἔμεινεν τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ του, κυροῦ Μακαρίου, καὶ ἔδωκέν το εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ Κῦρ Λαυρεντίου τοῦ οἰκονόμου διὰ δουκάτα δ′. Καὶ ἤφερέν το ὁ Κῦρ Πέτρος ὁ Λυβιανὸς μετὰ τοῦ κῦρ Μαλαχία τοῦ Ταγράδου εἰς τοῦ Σινᾶ. Καὶ εὑρέθην καὶ ἐγὼ ὁ ἄνωθεν εἰρημένος παπᾶς Ἰωσὴφ ὁ Φλεβοτόμος μετὰ τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ καθηγουμένου τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους Σινᾶ παπᾶ Κῦρ Μακαρίου καὶ ἄλλων ἀδελφῶν ε′ εἰς τὸ Κάρ⟨γ⟩ιος[i], καὶ ἐπαρέλαβα τὸ τοιοῦτον βιβλίον ὡς ἴδιόν μου, μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ ιδ′, ἡμέρᾳ ε′ τοῦ ͵ϛ ϡπδ′[j], (ἰνδ.)θ′.
Ταῦτα τὰ τέσσαρα δουκάτα χρεωστῶ τοῦ μοναστηρίου, καὶ ὅταν τὰ πληρώσω, νὰ ἔχω τὸ βιβλίον ὡς ἴδιον ἐδικόν μου.

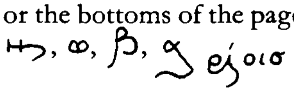
a An 'uncorrected' transcription is given by Beneševič *Cat.* p. 268 and repeated by Emman. J. Doulgerakis in Κρητικὰ Χρονικά 12 (1958) 122 note 24.
b ἐξοδίασα, ἐκοπίασα, εἶφεράτο, cf. Chron. Mor. 4239 ἐκόπιασαν κ' ἐξώδιασαν
c νίλων, but l. 22 νίλ(ος)
d ἐγήρασεν vdW, ἐγόρασεν D.
e ἡμέτερον B/D
f One would expect ταύτης
g Ἐκατερίνας
h Perseveration of ἐξε- instead of ἐκ- also in Chron. Mor. 5265 ἐξεδουλεύω, 4821 ἐξελαμπρισμένος, 1119, 1146, 7043 ἐξεμαυλίζω etc.
i κάριος, but cf. Chron. Machairas p. 156,20 εἰς τὸ Κάργιος
j ͵ϛ ϡ π β′ D.

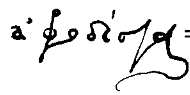
I Joseph, at present a monk-priest, born and bred in the town Mystra, in the world called John Phlebotomos (= the Bloodletter), son of Timotheos Phlebotomos, I make a record about this holy book, stating that it is mine, the property of my family. With costs and troubles I brought it to Coron together with a number of other books at the time that lord Sigismund with Venetian troops turned up in Mystra. And when the Government of Venice had banished the spiritual fathers from the island of Crete in August of the year 6976 (= 1468), there came among these holy spiritual fathers also Father Nilon Calosynas of the Vrontisi monastery sacred to St. Anthony on Crete, via Coron to the island named Tiganusa. The above-mentioned Father Nilon bought this book, unaware of the fact that it was mine, for two ducats, i. e. two Venetian ducats. My uncle, namely, Father Paul Phlebotomos, teacher of the sacred Gospel, did not know where I was and he sold this book of mine. But I was then staying at the holy mountain Sinaï and I desperately missed that book. Repeatedly I sent messages about it to Crete and thus

I was informed that it was in the hands of Father Nilon Calosynas. I begged the economist of St. Catherine on Sinaï, Rev. Laurence Calotaris, to go on a journey to obtain that book for me. He went, indeed, very quickly and found the book in the possession of Father Nilon. But he could not lay hands on the volume, because the holy man Nilon had died. Thus the book sought had come into the hands of his brother, the Rev. Macarius, who gave it into the hands of the Rev. Laurence the economist for four ducats. It was brought to the Sinai monastery by Father Peter the Lybian and Father Malachias of Tagrad. I, the above-mentioned Father Joseph Phlebotomos, was staying then with the holy abbot Macarius and five other brethren in Cairo, where I received that book as my own, on November the 14th, Thursday, of the year 6984 (= 1476), 9th Indict. These four ducats I am indebted to the monastery. When I shall have paid them, I shall have the book as my own inalienable property.

This story provides some interesting information: the attack of Sigismondo Malatesta on Mystra took place in 1464. He failed to take the κάστρο, exhumed the body of the famous philosopher Plethon, and retreated. People who feared reprisals apparently fled to Coron, a Venetian stronghold on the southern coast of the Peloponnese and perhaps from there to the little island Tiganusa. It seems that Joseph followed that way and that he travelled to Sinai shortly after, intending, however, to return. For that reason he left his book(s) with his uncle, Father Paul, who some years later sold the manuscript to Father Nilon Calosynas, member of a family which numbered several important scribes (cf. Doulgerakis, o. c. 123, note 25). The monastery of (St. Anthony) Vrontisi is situated in the neighbourhood of Zaros on Crete and seems to have been rather important, witness the fact that its church has well-styled frescoes from the fourteenth century and its forecourt a beautiful Venetian fountain from the sixteenth (cf. Guide Bleu Grèce, p. 965). The exile of the Cretan monks will not have lasted very long, for the inquiries of Joseph are mainly directed to Crete and it is quite probable that the economist of the Sinai monastery travelled also to Crete.

Being found, the manuscript arrived on Sinai in 1476. It is an open question, of course, whether the total series of items was already present in the set and whether the text of the *Chronographia* was already curtailed or still (more) complete. This question is interesting too in relation to the end of the *Historia Syntomos* and the (real) beginning of the *Chronographia*, as I already pointed out in the chapter on the author (p. XII).

The texts of the *Historia Syntomos* and the *Chronographia* have been written in the same, well legible hand. Abbreviations are few in number. The writing gives a regular impression, but this appearance is somewhat deceptive: the scribe varies the forms of his letters considerably, e. g. ƨ, α, α for α, b, β, u (277^{v} 1.9) for β etc. Especially at the ends of the lines or the bottoms of the pages, several letters gain in size or receive flourishes:  etc. Final *sigma* and *iota subscriptum* are lacking.

There is an extensive arsenal of ligatures:  = -ετ- 277ᵛ 2, 6,  = -εσ- 277ᵛ 4,15,  = -εγ- 277ᵛ 4, 5,  = λογ- 277ᵛ 4, , -αγο- 277ᵛ 5,  = σχ 277ᵛ 8,12,  = -ερ- 277ᵛ 8,13,  = -επ- 277ᵛ 12,  = κακῶν 277ᵛ 13,  = ἐταμιεύτο 266ʳ 42,  = ἀφροδίσια 266ʳ 50.

The general characteristics are those of the so-called 'Buchkursivschrift' (Moravscik, *Einf. in die Byzantinologie* p. 97, Hunger, *Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch- und Schriftwesen* p. 100 in: Geschichte der Textüberlieferung … I, Zürich 1961, München 1975, 25–147). Mistakes due to itacism are rather seldom: ἐγεγόνησαν instead of ἐγεγόνεισαν (4,64), Λουκρίτιος instead of Λουκρήτιος (6,4) δημοκιδῆ instead of δημοκηδῆ (8,11), κινῇ instead of κοινῇ (8,45) and so on. (See the list of these and similar mistakes at the end of this chapter).

No more frequent are the serious corruptions. Most of the corruptions involve a wrong case, a mistaken gender, the dropping out of letters or words etc. There are, however, some cases with complicated corruptions, and some other peculiarities, which indicate that this text can hardly be considered a copy of the autograph, but that it belongs to at least the third or, still better, the fourth or fifth 'generation'.

There is in the first place the great number of minor mistakes, which, when taken separately, can be considered simple corruptions, but can hardly have been generated altogether from a single copying.

Some corruptions must have arisen from successive copying, e. g. such as the otherwise incomprehensible addition Ὀνώριον in 48,46. There are two possibilities here: either it implies that someone wrote a gloss to explain τις: e. g. Ὀνώριον (λέγει) and that this gloss was inserted into the text, or Ὀνώριον is the remnant of a part of the clause which dropped out and in which Ὀνώριον was governed by a verb requiring the accusative. One may assume then that the statement referred to a threat of Isdigerdes directed at Honorius in order to keep him from interfering in matters concerning Arcadius' succession. However, this seems far from probable: 1) this threat would precede the more important information that Isdigerdes secured indeed the throne for Arcadius' son; 2) the threat is present, but is wrapped in a more indirect assertion: εἴ τις … βουλεύοιτο.

On page 26,62–65 there is a much more complicated corruption. Unless a closer 'Vorlage' can be found, the instance seems irreparable. For a discussion of the passage, see the *commentary ad locum*. The texture of the statement shows many more loose ends than would be explainable by a simple corruption.

Another rather complicated corruption presents itself on page 102,51–53. It concerns the (oftener quoted) description of a sculpture near the Bukoleon palace. A lion attacks a bull, who tries to strike the lion with his horn, but the lion pushes the bull's head away with his paw.

The text of the ms. reads: ἔνθα ἄλλα τε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων καὶ βοῦς ἐπιβὰς λέοντι τῷ λαιῷ ποδὶ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ καίρως ἀντιλαμβάνεται κτλ. In any case καίρως stands for κέρως and it is also clear that subject of ἀντιλαμβάνεται must be the lion. Thus it seems that a relative pronoun ⟨ᾧ⟩ which refers to the bull dropped out. It looks probable that the original text ran βοῦς ⟨ᾧ⟩ ἐπιβὰς λέων τις, c.q. βοὸς ⟨ᾧ⟩ ἐπιβὰς λέων τις, with a word sequence, probably due to the intention to maintain the same sequence as in the name Βουκολέων.

A similar 'adaptation' seems to have taken place on 102,55—57, where the 'original' female servants (θεραπαινῶν) were replaced by male ones (θεραπόντων), after which ἐφεστηκυῖαι was wrongly connected with τῆς βασιλίδος and ἐπιδεικνύμεναι altered into ἐπιδεικνυμένους with an erroneous connection with τοὺς βραχίονας.

The idea that the corruptions of our text have been generated from successive copyings is strengthened by a few cases of dislocation of words, passages or even chapters.

Thus the corruption on 108,47—48 may have been caused by dislocation of the reflexive pronoun οἱ, which possibly should be read after παρά τε (see *comm. ad loc.*). Its rather awkward position after προσιέναι, and the fact that after τε a word or some words are lacking, give rise to the suspicion that the corruption found its origin in a dislocation of οἱ. Given, however, the fact that οἱ after προσιέναι in itself is acceptable, I preferred to fill in only the lacuna after τε. On 46,21—22 the statement that Theodosius, dying, designated his sons Arcadius and Honorius to be his successors has been put in the middle of the account of the second Synod, whereas it should be read at the end of the chapter (after 46,37). How this dislocation took place, I can only guess.

Another form of dislocation presents itself in § 74, where the sayings of Maurice stand at the head of the chapter and not at the end as expected. If a scribe's mistake, one can imagine that in those cases, in which a series of sayings had been quoted, this series formed a chapter of its own; the scribe should then have transposed two chapters. If the intention of the author, it suggests that the apophthegms were taken from a separate work with the sayings arranged by emperor. A similar transposition has taken place in §§ 49 and 50: the chapter on Quintillus should precede the one on Aurelian: the reason that Quintillus cleared the field was precisely the proclamation of Aurelian by his troops.

More puzzling is the dislocation of § 77 which in the ms. appears between § 86 and § 87. It concerns the chapter on Constantine III, the 'legal' son of Heraclius. One may wonder how this chapter got out of place. The most obvious explanation seems to be that one scribe or another omitted the chapter, that the omission was detected, and that he copied it in later out of place, noting some signs of reference in the margin, which

in their turn were omitted in later copies. This explanation meets, however, with some serious difficulties:

1) in the previous chapter 76 there is no mention whatsoever of Heraclius' son Constantine, whereas the reader is well informed about the illegal marriage of Heraclius with his niece Martina and the birth of Heraclonas, who is later brought on the throne by his mother Martina, who was said to have poisoned the legal successor, Constantine.

In other words: chapter 78 can without any difficulty be read in continuation of chapter 76, or even stronger: chapter 78 seems to be the logical continuation of chapter 76.

2) The piece of information given in § 77 (66,88–90) on the relationship of Heraclius and Martina and the birth of Heraclonas is in fact fully superfluous, because it was already mentioned in § 76. Besides, this story is told again even more extensively in § 78.

3) In § 76 (66, 70–71) it is *expressis verbis* stated that Heraclius appointed Heraclonas to be his successor over the head of his other sons.

There is also another striking detail in § 77. The author remarks that Constantine was absolutely orthodox and did not continue his father's heresy. No other source comprises this piece of information, with the exception of Zonaras III 216, 10–12, who is followed by Ephraim v. 1421, and – strikingly enough – of Leontios of Neapolis, *Vita Johannis Eleemonis*, V 31 ff (= Gelzer 13), on which see note 7.

Considering these facts, I think there is strong evidence that § 77 is in fact an interpolation made by someone who observed that a chapter on Constantine III was missing and who composed one using either Zonaras' remark on Constantine's orthodoxy (the interpolation should thus be post-Zonarian) or another source, from which also Zonaras drew his information.

My conclusion is that the text of the *Historia Syntomos* has been copied several times. At one moment or another it has been combined with the *Chronographia* of Psellos; this seems, at least, the situation in ms. 1117 of Sinai. As I have remarked in my article on the final passage of the *Chronographia*[5], I suppose that both *Historia Syntomos* and *Chronographia* have been part of a corpus of works on Byzantine history, written in the XIth (or also XIIth) century.

List of itacisms etc., which have not been mentioned in the *apparatus criticus*.

ι – η 18,21 ἀρίσημος – ἀρήσιμος, 38,78 Περσίδι – Περσίδη, 44,5 ληιζομένην – λυηζομένην, 48,68 πᾶσιν – πᾶσην, 54,87 γυναικονῖτιν – γυναικονίτην, 82,78 τῆς Πριγκίπου – τῆς Πριγκήπου, 84,13 ἀκροθιγώς – ἀκροθηγώς, 90,33 εἰσοικίσασθαι – εἰσοικήσασθαι, 96,25 ἀφροδίσια – ἀφροδήσια, 100,23–24 χαλιναγωγεῖν – χαληναγωγεῖν, 106,27 χαλινόν – χαληνόν

η — ι 4,51 Κρουστουμερήνους — Κρουστουμερίνους, 6,4 Λουκρήτιος — Λουκρίτιος, 8,11 δημοκηδῆ — δημοκιδῆ, 10,53 ἑβδομηκοστῆς — ἑβδομικοστῆς, 16,50 ἀσήμου — ἀσίμου, 16,75 ἀσήμων — ἀσίμων, 16,83 νοσήσας — νοσίσας, 18,21 ἀρίσημος — ἀρήσιμος, 74,55 μονοθελήταις — μονοθελίταις, 102,67 χαμευνής — χαμευνίς

ι — ει 6,81, 10,65 ἀριστοκρατίαν — ἀριστοκρατείαν, 32,82 ἀποκτιννύουσιν — ἀποκτειννύουσιν, 36,44 Ἰταλίαν — Ἰταλείαν, 102,50 νοτίαν — νοτείαν

ι — υ 38,6 λιχνεύεσθαι — λυχνεύεσθαι, 52,42 πολιορκούντων — πολυορκούντων, 68,17 πολίχνιον — πολύχνιον

υ — ι 64,64 φύλαρχος — φίλαρχος

η — ει : 26,65 ἀναδήσασθαι — ἀναδείσασθαι, 38,4 ἀπλήστως — ἀπλείστως, 104,82 ἀπηνῶς — ἀπεινῶς

ει — η : 4,64 ἐγεγόνεισαν — ἐγεγόνησαν, 8,33 πλήθει — πλήθη, 18,7 τέλει — τέλη 48,56 θεῖτο — θήτω, 50,14 ᾔδει — ᾔδη, 70,71 ἔκλειψις — ἔκκληψις, 70,74 συνειλεγμένοις — συνηλεγμένοις, 72,94 δείσαντες — δήσαντες

ει — οι: 98,84 εἴσεται — οἴσεται

οι — ει: 60,67 ἀμοιβήν — ἀμειβήν

οι — ι: 8,45 κοινῇ — κινῇ

η — υ: 24,15 ἠπειγμένως — ὑπειγμένως, 44,5 ληιζομένην — λυηζομένην, 50,85 ἀναρρήσεως — ἀναρρύσεως, 76,84 ἐπαχθής — ἐπαχθύς

υ — η : 8,27 Τυρρηνία — Τηρρηνία

υ — οι : 102,38 ἐγκυμονεῖ — ἐγκοιμονεῖ

ο/ω confusion

6,84 ἐδίδοσαν — ἐδίδωσαν, 12,12 ἀνοσιότητος — ἀνοσιώτητος, 20,36 λόγων — λόγον, 22,78—79 παρ' ἐκείνῳ — παρ' ἐκεῖνο, 30,32 μαχομένων — μαχωμένων, 38,73 ἀθρόον — ἀθρώον, 44,6 γεγονώς — γεγονός, 52,29 ὠλοφύρετο — ὀλοφύρετο, 54,87 γυναικωνῖτιν — γυναικονίτιν, 58,29 ἠλλοιωμένους — ἀλλοιομένους, 58,30 ὠνόμαζεν — ὀνομαζεν, 68,24 τοῦτο — τούτω, 74,27 ὑπερόριος — ὑπερώριος, 96,41 παρεσχηκότος — παρεσχηκότως, 98,87 ἆθλον — ἆθλων, 104,84 διαπερονᾶται — διαπερωνᾶται

ε/αι confusion

30,51 ἐξῶσται — ἐξῶστε, 60,80 στρατόπεδα — στρατόπαιδα, 62,27 δικάζετε — δικάζεται, 72,95 ἀπηναισχύντησαν — ἀπηνεσχύντησαν, 96,23—24 στρατοπέδων — στρατοπαίδων, 102,52 κέρως — καίρως

In a number of cases a single consonant has incorrectly been doubled or the reverse:

λ – λλ 22,59 ἀμέλει – ἀμέλλει, 88,89 περιθρυλεῖται – περιθρυλλεῖτει, 96,49 τὰ θρυλούμενα – τὰ θρυλλούμενα (-λλ- for the rest often in medieval texts and mss.)
λλ – λ 60,69 ἀπολλύντας – ἀπολύντας, 102,39 ἐξαγγέλλει – ἐξαγγέλει, 104,9 διαμιλλησάμενος – διαμιλησάμενος
ρρ – ρ 94,16 ἐρρύθμιζεν – ἐρύθμιζεν, 100,26 μετερρύθμιζε – μετερύθμιζε (κ – κκ 70,71 ἔκλειψις – ἔκκληψις)

Mistakes of accents and spiritus have mostly been corrected without notice. Some examples:

6,6 Ὁράτιον – Ὀράτιον, 32,74 ὀθνείου – ὁθνείου
18,11 ψευδόμαντις – ψευδομάντις, 26,44 θερμή – θερμῇ, 42,56 ὀργίλον – ὀργῖλον, 42,57 ἐθνῶν τινων – ἐθνῶν τινῶν, 48,59 σπείσαιτο – σπείσαι το, 54,87 γυναικωνῖτιν – γυναικονίτην, 68,9 ῥῖνα – ῥίνα (-ῖ-), 70,44 ῥῖνας – ῥίνας, 66,84 μήτε τι – μήτέτι, 82,72 τἄλλα – τ'ἄλλα

The initials of a considerable number of chapters and/or names have been written in red. Sometimes these initials project out of the body of the text into the margin. In some cases the *miniator* forgot to add the initial required. The red initials are especially frequent in the series of apophthegms. I quote some examples:

2,1 Ἱστορία, 2,28 Τρίτος, 8,27 Ἐπί, 8,38 Ἐπί, 10,49 Ἐπί, 10,58 Τά, 10,64 Οὗτος etc.
Initial left out:
24,13 ʼ⟨Α⟩ντωνῖνος, 26,67 ⟨Μ⟩άξιμος, 28,4 ⟨Γ⟩άλλος, 34,13 ⟨Δ⟩ιοκλητιανός
In apophthegms:
56,90 Ἀποφθέγματα, 56,91 τῷ 56,2.5 Ὁ, 40,17 Οὗτος, 56,10 ⟨Ἰ⟩ουστῖνος, 56,22 Ἔλεγεν, 56,24; 58,27 Ὁ, 58,48 Ἀποφθέγματα, 58,49 Ἔλεγε etc. etc.

The sources

I would not pretend to have traced all the sources of the *Historia Syntomos*. Those which I have found are mentioned either in the *apparatus fontium* or in the *commentary*. My findings can be summarized as follows: the data of the period of the Roman kingdom and the Roman republic have all been taken from *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*. For the early Roman empire, till about Constantine the Great, the situation is more complicated. It is a rather amazing thing to realize that the most obvious source *Dio Cassius* is used only indirectly. There is no trace either that use has been made of the work of the monk Johannes Xiphilinos, who made an

essentially excellent summary of Dio Cassius. (This fact provides us perhaps with a *terminus ante quem*). The *Historia Syntomos* shows the most resemblance to the Ἐκλογαὶ Ἱστοριῶν (ascribed to either Leo Grammaticus (but certainly not of his hand) or to (Pseudo-)Symeon Logotheta: the Slavonic, almost literal, translation of this text mentions as the author СИМЕОН ЛОГОΘЕТА, see ed. Sreznevskij) = J. A. Cramer, Anecd. Graeca Paris. II 243 ff. (cited as *Ecl. Hist.* = Leo Grammaticus, CSHB, Bonn 1842). In most of the cases the same data can be found in Georgius Monachus and/or Cedrenus, though the wording and/or presentation is more often close to *Ecl. Hist.* There are also, of course, data taken from the ecclesiastical authors, Eusebius, Theodoretus, Socrates, Sozomenos etc., but nowhere borrowed directly. How far data from e. g. (Greek translations of) the *Historia Augusta* were available (see *ad Quintillum*), it is impossible to say. It is less impossible, and even probable, in my opinion, that some data have been drawn from Zosimus. I do not think that the same holds good for Herodian. The period covered by Theophanes Confessor furnishes many data taken from this author, but often indirectly through *Ecl. Hist.*, Georg. Monachos and others.

Very intriguing is the question from which source(s) the sayings of the emperors from Claudius II through Philippikos have been drawn. As already has been said, these sayings have little or no correspondence with collections as brought together by Plutarch, or by modern scholars as Wachsmuth[9], Karathanasis[10] and others. Some of the sayings are very trivial[11], others can be found also in Theophanes or Zonaras[12], others can be distilled from a situation described either by the author himself or by a source, but most of them seem to be original, that is, seem to be taken from a collection of sayings of the emperors, a collection unknown at least to me, but perhaps a relict of the encyclopedial activities carried out by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetus. At any rate, this collection is one of the most interesting aspects of the *Historia Syntomos*.

After Theophanes Confessor the material is often taken from the *Continuatio Theophanis*, but seldom in a comparable wording. When there are comparable texts they have mostly resemblance with Zonaras, only seldom with Scylitzes. In some cases one may find cognate passages in the Σύνοψις Χρονική of Const. Manasses or even in the work of Skutariotes = *Anonymus Sathae*.

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[9] C. Wachsmuth, *Die Wiener Apophthegmensammlung*, Österr. Akad. Wiss. (1882), 1–36.

[10] D. K. Karathanasis, *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten des Altertums in den rhetorischen Schriften des Michael Psellos, des Eustathios und des Michael Choniates sowie in anderen rhetorischen Quellen des XII. Jahrhunderts*, Speyer a. Rh. 1936. See further: Kleine Pauly s. v. Gnome (2).

[11] e. g. 72,90 μετὰ νέφος ὁ ἥλιος.

[12] e. g. 56,2–4 = Zon. III 159,1–3; 68,37 = Zon. III 221,4–5 etc.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the aim of the author is to give pithy characterizations of the rulers under discussion, rather than to sketch historical events. To this extent the procedure is quite comparable with that of Psellos in his *Chronographia*.

De ratione edendi

1) The *apparatus criticus* comprises all the differences between the text edited and the manuscript, with the exception of marks of punctuation, accents, itacisms etc., and the miniated capitals. See the list of itacisms etc., p. XXI/XXII. Emendations have been made when necessary for the understanding of the text, or in case of an obvious correction suggested by the context or a source. In a number of cases emendations have been proposed in the *app. crit.* or in the commentary.

2) The *apparatus fontium* has in general been reserved only for cases of textual resemblance. Because it is in fact unclear in which time the text came about, it did not seem practical to make a dividing-line between references taken from 'sources' before and after Psellos. In order to give an approximate indication of close or less close or loose connection with the source, I have introduced some signs indicating a graduation in connection: = literally the same, ≂ nearly the same, ≈ rather close, ∼ clearly comparable, and cf. comparable/related. Such indications bear soon the marks of subjectivity, but may be of some help to make clear some relationships. The sign > will refer to sources from which the one (probably) used by the author seem to derive.

3) The commentary comprises a scala of information. Not only further information about possible relationships of sources has found room there, but also remarks of linguistic character, reflexions on historical events, on possible backgrounds, or on imaginable emendations etc.

4) The translation is not a word-for-word one. I have tried to observe as well as possible the intentions of the author, but I have not shrunk from combining or disentangling notions and (parts of) phrases when I believed in that way to be able to ease modern understanding.

5) The indication ἱστορία at the top of each *recto* page, the (reader's?) remarks οὐκ ἀκριβὴς δέ at the top of 265 r., ὡραῖον in marg. 271 r. and the partly illegible gloss οὐκ οὗτος ὁ πατὴρ τῆς ἁγίας ... (?) in marg. 267 v. have been omitted.

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ABBREVIATIONES CETERAE

abs.	=	absolute
acc.	=	accusativus
acc. rel.	=	accusativus relationis
a.c.i.	=	accusativus cum infinitivo
ad loc.	=	ad locum
aor.	=	aoristus
app. loc.	=	apparatus locorum (citatorum)
c.	=	cum
c(c).	=	caput, capita
cap.	=	caput
capp.	=	capita
cf.	=	confer
cod.	=	codex
codd.	=	codices
comm(ent.)	=	commentarius, commentary
compar.	=	comparando
coni.	=	coniecit
cp.	=	compara, compare
crit.	=	criticus
dat.	=	dativus
ed.	=	edidit, editio
edit.	=	editor(es)
e.g.	=	exempli gratia, for instance
Erläut.	=	Erläuterungen
esp.	=	especially
etc.	=	et cetera
f.	=	and following; folium
ff.	=	and following
frg.	=	fragmentum
gen.	=	genitivus
ibid.	=	ibidem
id.	=	idem
i.e.	=	id est
impf.	=	imperfectum
inf.	=	infinitivus
in marg.	=	in margine
introd.	=	introduction
κτλ.	=	καὶ τὰ λοιπά, etcetera
l.	=	linea, line
ll.	=	lineae, lines
l.c.	=	loco citato
ll.cc.	=	locis citatis
leg.	=	legendum

med.	=	medium
ms.	=	manuscript
mss.	=	manuscripts
nom.	=	nominativus
o.c.	=	opere citato
om.	=	omittit (-unt)
p.	=	page
partit.	=	partitivus
perf.	=	perfectum
plqpf.	=	plusquamperfectum
post corr.	=	post coorectionem
. . .^{r}	=	recto
resp.	=	respectively
sq.	=	(et) sequens
sqq.	=	(et) sequentia
s.v.	=	sub voce
. . .^{v}	=	verso
v.	=	verse
viz.	=	videlicet, namely
vs.	=	versus

ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΨΕΛΛΟΥ
ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΣΥΝΤΟΜΟΣ

265r Ἱστορία σύντομος τῶν παρὰ τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ βασιλευσάντων καὶ αὖθις τῇ νεωτέρᾳ, τοὺς μηδὲν ἀξιόλογον πράξαντας τῶν βασιλέων ὑπερβαίνουσα, τὴν μέντοι ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου ποιησαμένη. Συγγραφεὺς δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας ὁ ἐρικυδέστατος ὑπέρτιμος ὁ

Ψελλός

1 Ῥωμύλος μυθολογεῖται παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις Ἄρεος τοῦ παρ' Ἕλλησι θεοῦ γενέσθαι υἱός, μητέρα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπιγράφουσι πάντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς Ἰουλίαν ὄνομα, θυγατέρα δὲ Νεμέτορος τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Ἀλβανῶν. Οὗτος ὁ Ῥωμύλος πόλιν οἰκοδομήσας Ῥώμην ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας προσηγορίας ὠνόμασεν. Ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἵδρυται ἐν τοῖς ἑσπερίοις μέρεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας περὶ ποταμὸν Τίβεριν, ὃς κατὰ μέσην ἐκδίδωσι τὴν ἀκτήν, ἀπέχουσα τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς ρκ' σταδίους. οἱ δὲ κατασχόντες αὐτὴν πρῶτον βάρβαροί τινες ἦσαν αὐτόχθονες, λεγόμενοι Σικελοί. Ῥωμύλος δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐπειδὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐξῳκοδόμησε, νόμους τε ἐν αὐτῇ ἔθετο καὶ τῶν πέριξ ἐθνῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα ὑπηγάγετο· φιλοκίνδυνος γὰρ γενέσθαι ἱστόρηται καὶ δεινότατος τὰ πολέμια. Τελευτᾷ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων πολιτῶν ἀναιρεθεὶς οὐδεμίαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενεὰν καταλιπών, ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα βασιλεύσας ἔτη.

2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμύλου τελευτὴν προχειρίζεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων κοινῇ παρὰ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν Νόμας Πομπιλίου υἱός, ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἀξιοθέατος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀρεταῖς ἁπάσαις κατηρτυμένος, ἐραστὴς δὲ σοφίας ἁπάσης. Τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ μία τῶν ἐννέα Μουσῶν προσεφοίτα πολλάκις δημοσίᾳ προκαθημένῳ καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐδίδασκεν. Ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν βασιλείαν διήγαγεν, οὔτε προφάσεις πολέμων τοῖς ὁμοροῦσιν ἔθνεσι δοὺς οὔτε παρ' ἐκείνων λαβών. Τελευτᾷ δὲ τὸν βίον ὁσίως βεβιωκὼς οὔτ' ἐπιβουλευθεὶς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε νόσῳ δαπανηθείς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γήρως κατὰ βραχὺ μαρανθείς.

3 Τρίτος ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου βασιλεύει τῆς Ῥώμης Τύλλος Ὁστύλιος. Οὗτος δημοτικώτατος ἄνθρωπος κατ' ἀρχὰς γεγονὼς εἰς φιλίαν ἑαυτῷ τοὺς πολίτας ἅπαντας ἐποιήσατο, ἀνδρειότατος δὲ καὶ τὴν πολεμικὴν ἐπιστήμην παρὰ πάντων τῶν συγγραφέων μεμαρτύρηται. Ὅθεν Ἀλβανούς τε παρεστήσατο, ἔθνος ἀρχαῖον καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, καὶ Φειδηναίων ἐκράτησε καὶ Φουφέτιον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀλβανῶν ἐπιβουλὰς αὐτῷ ὑπορύττοντα κατασχὼν ἀνεῖλε τυραννικώτατα. Ἔτη δὲ κατασχὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον καταπρησθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς

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4 ἐρικωδέστατος **28** ρίτος

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9 cf. D. H. I 9,4 (5) **10** ἡ δὲ … **13** Σικελοί: ≈ D. H. II 1,1 (1–6) **13–16** ~ D. H. II 7,1 (13–17) **16** cf. D. H. II 56,3 (4–5) … πρὸς τῶν ἰδίων πολιτῶν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν

Short history of those who were rulers of ancient Rome and afterwards of New Rome, leaving aside the emperors who brought about nothing remarkable, and taking its start from Romulus. Author of this history is the very most famous, honourable

Psellos

1 Roman mythology tells that Romulus was the son of Ares, as he is called by the Greeks. His mother's name, as mentioned by all authors, was Julia, and she was the daughter of the king of the Albans, Numitor. This man Romulus built a town and named it Rome after his own appellation. The town of the Romans is situated in the western part of Italy near the river Tiber, that disembogues at the middle of the coast, at a distance of 120 stades from the Tyrrhenian. The first settlers of the town were barbarian autochthones, named Siculi. But king Romulus after having built up the city framed laws for it and subdued a considerable number of the tribes around. It is recorded that he was a very adventurous man and most clever in warfare.
He died, murdered by his own citizens, leaving no offspring whatsoever, after a thirty-seven years' reign.

2 After the death of Romulus, Numa, the son of Pompilius is appointed to the kingship of the Romans by general consent of all the citizens, a man not only well worth seeing for his physical appearance but also equipped with all sorts of mental virtues, and a lover of all wisdom. This man, when presiding at a public meeting, was often accompanied by one of the nine Muses, instructing him how to be a (good) king. This ruler fulfilled his reign in peace. He gave the neighbouring tribes no pretext for war nor used it against them. He died at the end of a pious life, being neither a victim of plotting of the citizens nor consumed by disease, but gradually wasted by old age.

3 The third king of Rome after Romulus was Tullus Hostilius. This man was in the beginning very popular, indeed, and made all citizens his friends, but he was also very courageous, and testimony is given by all authors of his skill in warfare. Hence he brought under his authority the Albans, an ancient, populous tribe, he subdued the Fidenians, and he very tyrannously killed the king of the Albans, Fufetius, having arrested him because of his subversive activities and his plotting against him. He reigned thirty-two years and lost his life because his house burnt down; and with

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ἀποθανεῖν **17** ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ... ἔτη: cf. D. H. I 75,1 (23–24) **19–20** cf. D. H. II 58,3 (23 sqq.) **22–23** cf. D. H. II 60,5 (21–23) **24–25** cf. D. H. II 76,3 (7 sqq.) **27** ὑπὸ γήρως ... μαρανθεὶς: ~ D. H. II 76,5 (2–3) **34–37** ≂ D. H. III 35,1 (7–10)

οἰκίας καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ γυνή τε ἀπόλλυται καὶ τέκνα καὶ ὁ οἰκετικὸς ὄχλος καταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός.

4 Τέταρτος ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου βασιλεύει τῆς Ῥώμης Μάρκος Ἄγκος ἐπίκλησιν υἱὸς θυγατρὸς Νόμα Πομπιλίου τοῦ μετὰ Ῥωμύλον εὐθὺς τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων παραλαβόντος. Οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐβούλετο μὲν κατὰ τὸν πάππον εἰρήνης μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμου γενέσθαι τοῖς πολίταις αἴτιος, ἀλλ' οὐκέτι μέχρι τέλους ὡς προὔθετο πεπολίτευται. Λατῖνοι γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐπαναστάντες ἠνάγκασαν πολεμεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ Φειδηναῖοι, οὓς δὴ σύμπαντας κατὰ κράτος νενίκηκεν. Ἐπὶ τέτταρα δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχὼν ἔτη ἀποθνήσκει δύο καταλιπὼν υἱούς, τὸν μὲν ἔτι παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον ἤδη γεγονότα, καὶ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον ἱκανώτατος καὶ ἁρμοδιώτατος γεγονώς.

5 Πέμπτος ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων ἀνάγεται Λεύκιος Ταρκύνιος. Οὗτος τὸ Λατίνων ἔθνος λῃστείαις αὖθις καὶ προνομαῖς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν πορθοῦν ἐκ παρατάξεως καὶ τειχομαχίας καρτερῶς παρεστήσατο, νικᾷ δὲ καὶ Κρουστουμερήνους, ἔθνος γενναῖον, καὶ Κολλατίνους. Οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ Σαβίνων ἐκράτησε καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην παντοδαπαῖς ἀριστείαις ἐκόσμησε καὶ συνηύξησε. Τελευτᾷ δὲ τὸν βίον ἀναιρεθεὶς ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχών, οὐ μικρῶν οὐδὲ ὀλίγων Ῥωμαίοις ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος γενόμενος, υἱοὺς δύο καταλιπὼν νηπίους καὶ θυγατέρας δύο ἀνδράσιν ἤδη συνοικούσας.

6 Ἕκτος ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνει Στύλλιος, ὃς μιᾷ τῶν θυγατέρων Ταρκυνίου συνῴκει. Οὗτος ποικιλώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐμμέθοδος καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς δεξιώτατος. Ὑπεκρίνετο δὲ πολλάκις ἀφεῖναι τὴν βασιλείαν, οὐ τοῦτο βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν πολιτῶν γνώμης πειρώμενος κἀντεῦθεν κραταιοτέραν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιεῖτο. Εἰς ἔσχατον δὲ γῆρας ἀφικόμενος, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου τε τοῦ γαμβροῦ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς ἀποθνήσκει. Δύο γὰρ αὐτῷ θυγατέρες ἐγεγόνεισαν ἐκ γυναικὸς Ταρκυνίας, ἃς δὴ ἐπὶ γάμους γενομένας ἐκδίδωσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν, ὧν ἡ πρεσβυτάτη ἀνοσιωτάτη πασῶν γυναικῶν ἐγένετο.

7 Ἕβδομος ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου παρανόμως ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων ἄνεισι Λεύκιος Ταρκύνιος, ὁ τοῦ προτέρου ὁμώνυμος. Εὐθὺς γοῦν εἰς τὴν τυραννίδα μεθιστᾷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ φρουρὰν μὲν ἑαυτῷ κατεσκεύασε δεδιὼς

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39 Ῥομύλου **41** πόλεμον **42** τέλος : correxi compar. 6,74 et 85 **49** τῶν : correxi compar. D.H. III 49.2 **51** Κολατίνους **57** Ῥωμύλλου **60** ὑποκρίνετο **63** Ταρκενίου **64** θυγατέρες : θυγατέρων

38–40 cf. D. H. III 36,1 **40–42** cf. D. H. III 37,1 **43** πρὸς … Φειδηναῖοι: cf. D. H.

him perished his wife, his children and the mass of his servants, seized by the fire.

4 The fourth to be king of Rome after Romulus was Marcus, surnamed Ancus. He was a son of the daughter of Numa Pompilius, who took over the kingship of the Romans immediately after Romulus. This man wished, in the spirit of his grandfather, to be for his citizens the author of peace rather than of war, but he did not manage to the very end to do it as he intended. For the Latins rose up against him and forced him to fight, and with these also the Fidenians. But he vanquished them all forcibly. He reigned twenty-four years and died leaving two sons, one of them no more than a child, the other already more grown up. In matters both of peace and of war he had shown himself to be very skilful and always equal to the situation.

5 The fifth after Romulus to be brought to the kingship of the Romans was Lucius Tarquinius. In pitched battles and by sieges he violently subdued the tribe of the Latins, who were again devasting the land of the Romans with robbery and looting, and vanquished both the Crustumerini, a brave tribe, and the Colatini. Moreover he overpowered the Sabines and he embellished and increased Rome with all manner of excellences. Murder ended his life after a thirty-eight years' reign, during which he procured for the Romans many important goods. He left behind two immature sons and two daughters who were already married.

6 As sixth after Romulus, Stullius [sic; S. Tullius] assumes the throne; he had married one of the daughters of Tarquinius. He was the most shrewd of all men, being systematic of mind and very good at exploiting everything whatever in all circumstances for his own benefit. More than once he pretended to give up his power. This was not really his intention, but he wished to try out the disposition of the citizens with no other purpose than to increase his control of the government. In his very old age he died attacked by his son-in-law Tarquinius and his own daughter. By his wife Tarquinia he had two daughters, whom he married off to the brothers of their mother as soon as they reached a marriageable age. The elder of them was the most wicked of all women.

7 The seventh after Romulus, Lucius Tarquinius, a namesake of the earlier Tarquinius, illegally obtained the kingship of the Romans. He transformed his rule immediately into a dictatorship, and being afraid of

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III 39,3 **44–47** ≈ D. H. III 45,3 (12–15) **48** cf. D. H. III 49,1 **49–50** λῃστείαις … πορθοῦν: ≋ D. H. III 49,2 **53–56** ≂ D. H. IV 1,1 (1–5), sed sequentia sententiae partium mutata. **63–64** ἐπιβουλευθεὶς … ἀποθνήσκει = D. H. IV 27,7 **64–66** cf. D. H. IV 28,1 et sqq. **67** παρανόμως: cf. D. H. IV 41,4 οὐ κατὰ νόμους **68–70** ~ D. H. IV 41,2–3 (16–24)

τὰς ἐπιβουλάς, τὰς δὲ ἐξόδους σπανίους καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτους ἐποιεῖτο· διέφθειρε δὲ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐγκλήματα αὐτοῖς ἐπαγαγὼν ἄδικα. Ἐλαύνεται γοῦν τῆς βασιλείας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἀειφυγίᾳ καταδικάζεται τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου Βρούτου τὸ πᾶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν κατασκευάσαντος. Ἡ τοίνυν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ ἀπὸ Ῥωμύλου μέχρι τοῦ δευτέρου 265v Ταρκυνίου τὴν ἔννομον ἑαυτῇ βασιλείαν διαφυλάξασα μετὰ τὴν | ἐκείνου φυγὴν εἰς ὑπατικὰς ἀρχὰς μεταπίπτει.

8 Ἡ βασιλικὴ Ῥωμαίων πολιτεία διαμείνασα μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐτῶν τεσσάρων καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἀριθμόν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τελευταίου βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου τυραννὶς γενομένη, ὑπὸ γενναιοτάτων κατελύθη ἀνδρῶν καὶ παυσαμένης αὐτῇ τῆς μοναρχίας ἤτοι βασιλείας εἰς ἀριστοκρατίαν τὸ κράτος μετέπεσε, κἀντεῦθεν δύο ἄνδρες κρείττους τῶν ἄλλων ἀριστοκρατεῖν κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐπετρέποντο καὶ ὕπατοι ἐξωνομάζοντο καὶ τούτοις τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν πληρωθέντος ἰδιῶται αὖθις καθίσταντο καὶ λόγους ἐδίδοσαν ὧν διῳκήκασι. Καὶ παρέμεινεν μέχρι Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος ἡ τοιαύτη διαδοχή. Ἀλλὰ νῦν πρῶτον περὶ τῶν ὑπάτων λεκτέον.

9 ⟨Βροῦτος καὶ Κολλατῖνος⟩.

Τούτων τῶν δυεῖν ὑπάτων τῷ μὲν Βρούτῳ δώδεκα κατέ⟨τ⟩αξαν οἱ πολῖται ἡγεῖσθαι πελέκεις, τῷ δὲ Κολλατίνῳ δώδεκα ὑπηρέτας ῥάβδους ἔχοντας μόνον. Οὗτοι δὲ τούς τε καταλυθέντας νόμους ὑπὸ Ταρκυνίου ἀνενεώσαντο καὶ τὰς θυσίας αὖθις προσέταξαν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καὶ Ταρκυνίου ἀειφυγίαν κατεδιῄτησαν. Καὶ πολεμεῖν δὲ ἦσαν πρὸς Οὐϊεντανούς, οἳ τὸν Ταρκύνιον κατῆγον, ἵνα Ῥωμαίων αὖθις βασιλεύοι. Συνέμιξαν ἄμφω Βροῦτος καὶ Ἄρρος, ὁ τοῦ Ταρκυνίου παῖς, καὶ συνέβη τούτους ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀποκτανθῆναι. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν Βροῦτος ἐτετελευτήκει καὶ Κολλατῖνος πρότερον τῆς ὑπατείας πέπαυται. Καὶ αὖθις ἡ βουλὴ δευτέρων ὑπάτων ἐφρόντισεν.

10 ⟨Οὐαλέριος καὶ Λουκρήτιος⟩.

Τούτων τῶν δυεῖν ὑπάτων ὁ μὲν Λουκρήτιος οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχὼν ἀποθνήσκει, ὁ δὲ δῆμος εἰς τὸν ἐκείνου τόπον καθίστησι Μάρκον Ὁράτιον, ὃς καὶ νόμους φιλανθρώπους ἔθετο καὶ τοὺς πελέκεις ἔξω μὲν τοῦ ἄστεος πορευομένοις τοῖς ὑπάτοις μεθῆκεν, ἔνδον δὲ τοῦ τείχους ἀφείλετο καὶ ῥάβδοις κοσμεῖσθαι μόναις προσέταξεν. Ἐντεῦθεν Ποπλικόλας παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπωνομάσθη. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἐπωνύμιον κατὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον δύναται ἢ καὶ βούλεται δηλοῦν

83 τούτους **85** παρέμειναν **87** Nomina consulum supplevi et hic et in capp. sqq. **88** κατέαξαν : sed cf. D.H. V 2,1 κατατάξαντες **92** Οὐιετανούς *vide comm.* **95** Κολατῖνος **4** Λουκρίτιος. . Traditio D.H. habet -η-, C. Dionis -ι-, cf. Zon. II 41,6 Λουκριτία, Λουκριτίου

plots he provided himself with a bodyguard and went out only seldom and at unexpected moments. He also disposed of many citizens by means of unjust charges against them. No wonder he was driven out of the kingship by the Romans and condemned to exile for life. The preparation of the whole campaign was in the hands of the very admirable Brutus. Thus the government of the Romans maintained the character of a legal monarchy until the second Tarquinius. After his banishment a government of consuls was instituted.

8 Monarchy among the Romans lasted two hundred forty years after the foundation of Rome. But under the last king Tarquinius it became a dictatorship, which was only put down by very brave men. Monarchy or kingship having been put to an end, aristocracy came in its place. Thenceforth the aristocratic rule was trusted each year to two men who surpassed the others. These were called consuls and upon termination of their proper year in power they became again private citizens and accounted for what they had done during their term. This system of succession lasted until Julius Caesar. But now first a word about the consuls.

9 ⟨Brutus and Collatinus⟩.
The citizens had ordered that of these two consuls Brutus should be preceded by twelve bearers of axes, but Collatinus by twelve assistants bearing only staves. These consuls restored the laws abolished by Tarquinius and commanded that the immolations should be re-established; they condemned Tarquinius to lifelong exile. They started a campaign against the Veientanes, who were trying to re-instate Tarquinius as king of the Romans. It came to a fight between Brutus and Arruns, the son of Tarquinius, which ended in their killing each other. In this manner Brutus' life ended; Collatinus had already earlier resigned his consulship. As before, the Senate provided for the second pair of consuls.

10 ⟨Valerius and Lucretius⟩.
Of these two consuls Lucretius died a few days after his accession to office, and the people nominated Marcus Horatius in his place. This man instituted humane laws: he maintained for the consuls on campaign out of town the right of axes, but abolished this right in town, ordering their equipment only with staves. Hence his surname given by the people of Rome: Publicola. In Greek this surname signifies, by way of illustration

72–74 cf. D. H. IV 70,4 (12–19) **77–80** ἀνδρῶν ≅ D. H. V 1,1 (1–5) **88–90** ≈ D. H. V 2,1 (10–13) **90–91** ἐπιτελεῖσθαι ~ D. H. V 2,2 (19–24) **4–8** ≈ D. H. V 19,2–4 (1–14), cf. etiam Plut. *Publ.* cap. 10,5 **8–11** ≈ D. H. V 19,5 (24–26), cf. etiam Plut. *Publ.* 10,6

ʽδημοκηδῆʼ ἤτοι ʽδήμου φροντιστήνʼ. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ συντελεσθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων τοιάδε ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ῥητέον καθʼ ἕκαστα.

11 ⟨Οὐαλέριος (τὸ δεύτερον) καὶ Τῖτος Λουκρήτιος⟩.

Ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατείας τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου ἐπράχθη, τιμήσεις δὲ ἐγένοντο βίων καὶ τάξεις τῶν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους εἰσφορῶν, ὡς Στύλλιος βασιλεὺς ἐνομοθέτησε, πάντα τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ταρκυνίου δυναστείας χρόνον ἀφειμέναι, τότε δὲ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τούτων ἀνανεωθεῖσαι· ἐξ ὧν εὑρέθησαν τῶν ἐν ἥβῃ Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρες περὶ τρισκαίδεκα μυριάδες. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἤρκεσε πράξεων. Εἰρηνικόν τε τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον συντετελέκασι καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν στρατευμάτων Ῥωμαίοις συνηυξήκασι καὶ ⟨ἡ⟩ ἀριστοκρατικὴ ὑπατεία κρείττων τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίοις ἀποδέδεικτο καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ τὰ κατʼ αὐτοὺς ἤνθησε τῆς τῶν δυεῖν ὑπάτων ὁμονοίας ἀποχρησάσης αὐτοῖς.

12 ⟨Οὐαλέριος (τὸ τρίτον) καὶ Μάρκος Ὁράτιος (Πόλβιλλος τὸ δεύτερον)⟩.

Ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων βασιλεὺς Καλουσηνῶν τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ Λάρος ὄνομα Πορσίην ἐπίκλησιν καταφυγόντος ἐπʼ αὐτὸν Ταρκυνίου τοῦ τυραννήσαντος στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐξάγει καταναγκάζων Ταρκύνιον ἐν τῇ πόλει δέξασθαι. Καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤλασεν ὡς δίχα πόνων ταύτην παραστησόμενος. Καὶ πολέμου κροτηθέντος ἀμφοῖν τοῖν μεροῖν ἐμπειρίᾳ μὲν καὶ καρτερίᾳ κρείττους ἐφάνησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν μετὰ Πορσίνου στρατευσάντων, οὗτοι δὲ πλήθει ἐκείνους ὑπερεβάλλοντο. Τοῦ δὲ πολέμου παυθέντος εἰς διαλλαγὰς ἀλλήλοις συνεληλύθεσαν καὶ οὔτε Ταρκύνιος τῆς εἰς Ῥώμην καθόδου τετύχηκε καὶ Πορσῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐπανέζευξεν ἔθνος.

13 ⟨Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος καὶ Πόπλιος Ποστούμιος⟩.

Ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων Σαβίνων τινὲς καταγνόντες ἀσθένειαν τῆς πόλεως στράτευμα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐγείρουσιν. Ἀλλὰ πρῶτα μὲν ἐξ ἐφόδου ἅτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπὶ τοὺς ληιζομένους τὰ χωρία αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσὼν φόνον ποιεῖται τῶν καταληφθέντων ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς συχνῶν ὄντων πολύν. Ἔπειτα ἄμφω οἱ ὕπατοι συνεξαγαγόντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ παρατάξεως νενικήκασι καὶ πολλὰς ὠφελείας λαβόντες, ἃς τοῖς στρατιώταις ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψαν, ἀπῆγον ἐπʼ οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις. Ἡ δὲ πόλις τότε πρῶτον ἀναθαρρήσασα ψηφίζεται κοινῇ ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ὑπάτοις θριάμβου καταγωγήν.

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22 ἡ addidi **28** Πορσίην : sic; legendum Πορσῖνος ? Cf. 8,35 sed D.H. Πορσίνας. **29** στρατιὰν : στρᾶ Ῥωμαίοις, sed cf. 8,39 et 10,50 **31** παραστησάμενος : emendavi ex D.H. V 22,3 **32** Ποσίνου : cf. l. 7 πλήθη **44** οἱ στρατιῶται : emendavi compar. D.H. V 39,3

11–12 ≂ D. H. V 19,5 (26–2): καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ... τοιάδε ἦν· **15** ἄλλο – **20** μυριάδες: ≂ D. H. V 20 (5–11)

of his character: "who cares for the people", or, "the people's support". These were the achievements of the consuls in that year; what follows must be discussed all and each severally.

11 ⟨Valerius (second time) and Titus Lucretius⟩.
During the consulate of these men nothing worth mentioning happened, but the term was marked by the introduction of the census of goods and of the classes of property taxes for the wars. These taxes had already been laid down by king Stullius, but they were totally neglected at the time of the Tarquinius' domination. Now they were for the first time reintroduced by these consuls. From the tax registrations it appeared that there were about one hundred thirty thousand Roman men of military age. This development sufficed in place of many other deeds. Not only did they maintain the peace in that year, but they also increased the numbers of the Roman forces. Thus the aristocratic consuls' rule proved itself to the Romans to be stronger than the monarchy, and during a long period their state enjoyed prosperity as long as there was a sufficient unanimity between the two consuls.

12 ⟨Valerius (third time) and Marcus Horatius (Pulvillus, second time)⟩.
At the time of these consuls, Laros with surname Porsinna, the king of the Caluseni, who live in the Tyrrhenian area, led his army against the Romans: the ex-tyrant Tarquinius had come to him as a refugee, and he tried to force them to accept Tarquinius again in the city. He marched against the city, convinced that he would bring it to terms without trouble. Battle was started, and of the two parties it seemed that the Romans brought in more experience and force than the soldiers of Porsinna; on the other hand the latter surpassed them in number. After the battle they came to terms with each other, with the result that Tarquinius failed to obtain his return to Rome. Porsinna, however, was permitted to go back to his own people.

13 ⟨Marcus Valerius and Publius Postumius⟩.
At the time of these consuls some Sabines became aware of the weakness of the city, and they raised an army against the Romans. But immediately after the attack one of the consuls surprised the enemies who were plundering the fields and inflicted a great slaughter among the many who were caught ravaging. Later the two consuls concentrated their forces and vanquished the enemy in straight combat. The rich booty was left to the soldiers to take away, and then they led their forces back home. Then, for the first time, the town felt courage enough to take the common decision to permit a triumphal procession of the consuls.

27–29 ~ D. H. V 21,1 (18–20) **30–31** ≋ D. H. V 22,3 ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐλαύνων ὡς καὶ ταύτην δίχα πόνου παραστησόμενος, **31–33** ~ D. H. V 23,2 … … ἐμπειρίᾳ μὲν καὶ καρτερίᾳ κρείττους ὄντες οἱ Ρωμαῖοι τῶν ἐναντίων, πλήθει δὲ … **38–39** Σαβίνων … πόλεως: ≂ D. H. V 37,2 (20–21) **39–42** ~ D. H. V 37,3 (5–10) **43–45** … πολλὰς ὠφελείας κτλ.: ≂ D. H. V 39,3 (4–6) **45–46** ≋ D. H. V 39,4 (6–7, 10–11)

14 ⟨Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος (τὸ τέταρτον) καὶ Τῖτος Λουκρήτιος (τὸ δεύτερον)⟩.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τούτων δὴ τῶν ὑπάτων πάσας τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ Σαβῖνοι συνηθροικότες ἐξῆγον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ συμβάλλοντες ἡττήθησαν. Καὶ αὖθις ἐπὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοὺς ὑπάτων πλείονι χρησάμενοι στρατιᾷ μείζονος τῆς κακώσεως ἐπειράθησαν σφαλέντος βραχύ τι ἑνὸς τῶν ὑπάτων. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος Αὖλος Σεμπρώνιος καὶ Μάρκος Μινέκιος νεὼν καθιέρωσαν τῷ Κρόνῳ καὶ δημοτελεῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἑορτὰς καὶ θυσίας προσάγεσθαι τῷ δαίμονι τούτῳ ἐνομοθετήκασιν. Ἐπὶ δὲ Ποπλικίου Μινεκίου καὶ Γυγανίου Καμερίου σίτου σπάνις ἰσχυρὰ τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχεν.

15 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ὅσα οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτοὺς ὕπατοι καὶ μετὰ τούτους οἱ ἐπικληθέντες δήμαρχοι ἐφ' ἑκάστων τῶν χρόνων πεπράκασι, παρήσειν μοι δοκῶ περιγεγραμμένα τυγχάνοντα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιστασίαις καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντα συνέχειαν ἀρχικήν, ἑτέραν δὲ ὥσπερ ἱστορίαν σοι πραγματεύσομαι ἀπὸ Καίσαρος Ἰουλίου λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἵν' ἔχοις τὰ μὲν μιμεῖσθαι τῶν βασιλέων, τὰ δὲ μωμεῖσθαί τε καὶ βδελύττεσθαι.

16 Οὗτος πρῶτος ὁ Καῖσαρ ὕπατος μετὰ Βιβούλου γενόμενος τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν εἰς μοναρχίαν μετέστησε καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν εἰς βασιλείαν μετήλλαξε. Γενναιότατος δὲ γεγονὼς ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι Γερμανοὺς και Γάλλους καὶ Βρετανοὺς χειρωσάμενος ὑποφόρους Ῥωμαίων πεποίηκε. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐπωνόμασται, ὅτι θανούσης αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρός, ἐν ᾧ ἔμελλε τίκτεσθαι, ἐξ ἀνατομῆς ἐξηνέχθη εἰς φῶς. Τὸ γὰρ
266ʳ Καῖσαρ ὄνομα εἰς τὴν ἑλλάδα | γλῶσσαν μεθαρμοζόμενον ἀνατομὴ λέγεται. Ἐπιβεβούλευται δὲ παρὰ Βρούτου τοῦ μοιχιδίου υἱοῦ καὶ Κασσίου, ἀνδρῶν γεννάδων καὶ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἀντεχομένων, καὶ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον ἀναιρεθείς.

17 Ὀκτάβιος Αὔγουστος Καῖσαρ. Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς Καῖσαρ μὲν προσηγορεύθη διὰ τὸν πρότερον Καίσαρα, Σεξ[σ]τίλιος δὲ ὀνομαζόμενος εἰς τὸν Αὔγουστον κατετέθη (τὸ δὲ αὔγουστος ἑλληνιστὶ σεβαστὸς λέγεται) φιλοτιμησαμένων αὐτῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν κατορθωμάτων τὴν τοιαύτην προσηγορίαν. Ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἷος οὐκ ἄλλος, θυμοειδὴς δὲ καὶ ταχέως κινούμενος πρὸς ὀργήν. Τῷ δὲ ͵εφ´ ἔτει ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἐν ᾧ ἔτει καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἐγεννήθη. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλειν

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52 σφαλέντα : emendavi compar. D.H. V 44,2, nisi forte legendum sit ⟨καὶ⟩ σφαλέντος **56** Καμερίου : καὶ Μερίου : emendavi compar. D.H. VII 1,1 codd. B: codd. A Καμερίνου : Μακερίνου coni. Sigonius. Agitur de T. Geganio Macerino. **64/65** τοῦ Ῥωμαίου. Possis τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις **71** μοιχιδίου : litterae -οιχι- macula obscuratae, lectio autem certa esse videtur **75** Σεξστίλιος : σ ut e diplologia ortum delevi

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53–54 ~ D. H. VI 1,1 **54** νεὼν ... κτλ.: ~ D. H. VI 1,4 (16–20) **57** σίτου σπάνις ... κατέσχεν: = D. H. VII 1,1 (2–3) **67–68** cf. Eclogae Historion = Cramer, Anecd.

14 ⟨Publius Valerius (fourth time) and Titus Lucretius (second time)⟩. The year that these consuls were in office the Sabines brought together all their forces against the Romans, but confrontation led to their defeat. Under the consulate of the next year they tried again with a yet more numerous army, but suffered greater damage, though one of the consuls failed for a short time.
At the seventy-first Olympiade Aulus Sempronius and Marcus Minucius dedicated a temple to Cronos, and ordained by law that feasts and ceremonies should be held yearly at public cost in honour of this deity.
Under Publicius Minucius and Geganius Macerinus a serious shortage of food struck Rome.

15 As to the history of the consuls who were chosen yearly, and of the so-called tribunes after them, each in their separate years, I have decided to omit the rest, because it is determinated by that specific form of government and thus lacks the continuity of personal leadership; but I shall occupy myself for you with the further history and start from the rule of Caesar Julius, in order that you may either imitate the good deeds of the emperors, or criticise and despise the bad ones.

16 When this Caesar had become a consul of the Romans (together with Bibulus), he was the first to transform the aristocratic government into a monarchy and to convert the consulate into an empire. He was very brave in the many great wars against the Germans, the Gauls and the Britons, whom he vanquished one and all and made them pay tribute to the Romans. Caesar was his name because, since his mother died at the moment of delivery, he was brought to light by means of an operation (sectio caesarea). For the name Caesar being translated into the Greek language signifies 'operation'. He was waylaid by his bastard son Brutus and by Cassius, noble men and supporters of the aristocracy, and he ended his life being murdered.

17 Octavius Augustus Caesar. This emperor was called Caesar because of his predecessor Caesar. And his name Sextilius was replaced by Augustus — Augustus means in Greek 'sebastos' (i. e. 'venerable') — because the Romans honoured him with this appellation on account of his very outstanding achievements. In other respects he may have been incomparable, but he was hot-tempered and very apt to quickly get angry.
In the year 5500 after world's creation there went out a decree from him that all the world should be taxed, and in that year our Lord was born.

Par. II,275, 11–13 (further Ecl. Hist.) ≂ Cedr. I 300,6–8 **68–69** cf. Ecl. Hist. 275,5–7 = Cedr. I 299, 20–22 **79** cf. Ecl. Hist. 277,6 sqq. Τῷ δὲ ͵εφ ἔτει ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου, καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει Αὐγούστου, ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἐν ᾧ ἔτει καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἐγεννήθη, Ἡρώδου βασιλεύοντος τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ὃν ὁ Καῖσαρ Αὔγουστος προεχειρίσατο.

αὐτὸν τελευτᾶν κεραυνὸς κατασκήψας εἰς τὴν τούτου εἰκόνα τὸ πρῶτον γράμμα τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ἐξηφάνισε. Τελευτᾷ δὲ βιοὺς *** ἔτη ἓξ πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα.

18 Εἶτα Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ. Στάσιμος οὗτος ὁ ἀνήρ, βαρὺς δὲ καὶ ⟨ἀ⟩παραίτητος πρὸς ὀργήν, ἀμφίβολος δὲ τὴν θρησκείαν. Οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ἡμετέραν πίστιν ἐκράτυνε τοῦτο βουληθεὶς πρότερον οὔτε τῆς οἰκείας ἐξεπεπτώκει, ἀνεῖλε δὲ Πιλάτον μὴ κωλύσαντα τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου σταυρόν. Οὗτος βραδείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς τῶν δυναστειῶν διαδοχὰς δυεῖν ἕνεκα τῆς τε πραγμάτων ἀδιακόπου οἰκονομίας καὶ προστασίας καὶ τοῦ κόρον λαβόντας ἐφάπαξ τοὺς δυναστεύοντας εὐχαλιναγώγους πρὸς τὴν πλεονεξίαν γίνεσθαι. Ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ καίσαρος κατὰ τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν τὸ βάπτισμα δέχεται, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει τὸ σωτήριον πάθος ὑφίσταται ἐν ἔτει ,εφλγʹ. Ἐπὶ τούτου Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου πρῶτος Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος γίνεται καὶ Κανδάκης ὑπὸ Φιλίππου βαπτίζεται.

19 ⟨Γάϊος⟩. ⟨Ο⟩ὐκ ἀκρατὴς μόνον οὗτος τὰς πρὸς τὴν μῖξιν ὁρμάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσελγέστατος πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ μοιχικώτατος, ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων φρεάτων (τοῦτο δὴ τὸ Σολομώντειον) τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀρυόμενος. Ἐβασίλευσε μὲν οὖν ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα, κατέτριψε δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ζωὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀκολάστοις ἐπιθυμίαις. Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας παρανομώτατος καὶ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἰταμώτατος, πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀσέλγειαν ἀνεπισχέτως φερόμενος. Ἐπὶ τούτου Ἀγρίππας μὲν βασιλεύει τῆς Ἰουδαίας, Σίμων δὲ ὁ μάγος παρὰ Φιλίππου βαπτίζεται ἑνὸς τῶν ἑπτὰ διακόνων. Κλαύδιος δέ τις ἀνὴρ τῆς βδελυρίας αὐτὸν βδελυξάμενος ἐπιβουλεύσας ἀναιρεῖ. Οὗτος ὁ Γάϊος γενεὰν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἑαυτοῦ κατέλιπε, δόξαν δὲ πολλὴν τῆς ἰδίας ἀνοσιότητος.

20 ⟨Κλαύδιος⟩. ⟨Ἐ⟩βασίλευσε δὲ Κλαύδιος ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς πέντε μησίν. Ἀγεννὴς δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐγνωρίζετο κἀντεῦθεν πάντας ὑπώπτευεν ἑαυτῷ. Οὐδεὶς οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν πάντων ἐγγύθεν προσῄει, εἰ μὴ πρότερον διηρευνήθη, μή που ξιφίδιον ὑπὸ τὸν κόλπον ἔχοι. Πᾶσά τε αὐτῷ ἡ δορυφορία καθώπλιστο οὐκ ἐν πομπαῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμποσίοις καὶ δείπνοις. Ἐπὶ τῆς τούτου βασιλείας Ἀγρίππας καὶ Ἡρώδης ἀναιροῦσιν Ἰάκωβον ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννου μαχαίρᾳ, καὶ Ἀγρίππας ἄνωθεν πληγεὶς

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83 σύγραμμα , *vide comm.* **83** βιοὺς***ἔτη, *vide comm.* **86** παραίτητος **89** βραδεῖαν **89** δεῖν : correxit Holwerda **2** ⟨Γάϊος⟩. ⟨Ο⟩ὐκ : supplevi. Haec verba quod de Caligula agunt, demonstrat Ecl. Hist. 279,6 sqq. Γάϊος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας θʹ, ἦν δὲ μοιχικώτατος πάνυ κτλ. **3** ἀλλοτρίας **13** Κλαύδιος : titulum supplevi βασίλευσε τρία : legendum δεκατρία vel τρία καὶ δέκα, cf. Ecl. Hist. 279,15: ιγ̄ **14** ἀγενής πάντες **17** καθόπλιστο

86–87 sqq. *vide comm.* **88** cf. Ecl. Hist. 278,7–8 **92–93** ≈ Ecl. Hist. 278,15–17, cf. Cedr. I 344,16–18 ex Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* Vide et Chron. Pasch. II 88, Georg. Mon. 312 **94–1** cf. Ecl. Hist. 278,27 et 30/31: *vide comm.* **3** μοιχικώτατος cf. Ecl. Hist. 279,6, Cedr.

When time of his death was approaching, a thunderbolt struck his statue and destroyed the first letter of his name. He dies after ⟨a reign of⟩ fifty-six years.

18 Next, Tiberius Caesar. This was a steadfast man, but severe and inexorable in anger. He was undecided as to religion. For he did not support our beliefs, although he had wanted to, and he did not repudiate his own beliefs either: nevertheless he had Pilatus killed for not having prevented the crucifixion of the Lord.
He postponed successions in the offices for two reasons: first, in order to secure a continuous administration and to increase his control of affairs, and second, to bridle the governors effectively so as to control excesses, once they had satisfied their greed. In the fifteenth year of the empire of this Caesar, our Lord is baptised. And during the eighteenth year the Lord endures the salutary Passion, in the year 5533. Under his reign the brother of the Lord, James, was appointed first bishop of Jerusalem, and Candaces [sic] was baptised by Philip.

19 Gaius. Not only was he totally without control of his sexual passions, he was also the most licentious of all men and the most adulterous, drawing his pleasures from another man's pits – as is Solomon's saying. So he reigned three years and nine months and squandered his whole life in licentious desires. In the matter of punishments he most scandalously broke the law, and he was very offensive in his dealing with the senate. He was irresistibly compelled to every manner of wantonness.
During his reign Agrippa was king of Judaea, and Simon the magician was baptised by Philip, one of the seven deacons.
One man, however, Claudius, could not tolerate his disgusting behaviour any longer, and had him attacked and killed. Thus Gaius did not leave any offspring of his own, only great fame because of his licentiousness.

20 ⟨Claudius⟩. Claudius reigned three (thirteen) years and five months. He was notorious for his sordid soul and thus he harboured suspicion against everybody. No one – whoever it was – could approach him without first being searched to see whether he had a dagger under his cloth. His whole corps of bodyguards was fully armed not only at processions, but also at drinking-parties and meals. During his reign Agrippa and Herodes [sic] kill James, the brother of John, with a knife, but

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I 346,3. Vide etiam Cass. Dionem 59,3,3 μοιχικώτατός τε ἀνδρῶν γεγενημένος ... cf. Xiph. 156,21–25 **4** cf. Proverbia 23,27 **5** Idem temporis indicat spatium Ecl. Hist. 279,6; Cedr. I 346,3 autem notat annos septem. **8–10** ἐπὶ τούτου ... διακόνων: ≂ Ecl. Hist. 279,11–13, cf. Cedr. I 346,8–10 **13** τρία: *vide comm.* **14–18** cf. Dio Cass. 60,3,3, Ecl. Hist. 279,15–19, Cedr. I 346,14–17, Const. Manass. 2011–2015, Anon. Sathae 28,18–21 **18** sqq. *vide comm.* **19–20** Ἀγρίππας ... ἀναιρεῖται: cf. Act. Apost. 12,23, Ecl. Hist. 279,32–280,2

ἀναιρεῖται, καὶ Μάρκος ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος καὶ κῆρυξ Ἀλεξανδρέων καθίσταται καὶ Σίμων ὁ μάγος μάγοις προσομιλήσας καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐκμελετήσας καὶ τερατευόμενος ὡς κρείττων δύναμις παρὰ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις ἐσέβετο. Ἐν δὲ τῷ δειπνεῖν πεφαρμαγμένον μύκητα φαγὼν τελευτᾷ.

21 Νέρων υἱὸς Κλαυδίου. Ἐξάγιστος οὗτος καὶ μιαρώτατος ἄνθρωπος, εἰπεῖν δὲ καὶ ἀνοητότατος καὶ οἷον οὔθ' ὁ πρὸ τοῦ ἤνεγκε βίος οὔθ' ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐνέγκοι. Ἀνεῖλε μὲν γὰρ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν μνηστήν, εὐνούχου δέ τινος ἐρασθεὶς ὥσπερ ἔννομον τὴν παρανομίαν ἐποίησε καὶ γάμον ἑαυτῷ συνεκρότησεν, ἀνεῖλέ τε τοὺς ἀποστόλους Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον καὶ πρῶτος ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῦ διωγμοῦ ἤρξατο. Βασιλικῶν δὲ πραγμάτων κατολιγωρήσας πρὸς ᾠδὰς καὶ χειρονομίας ἐτράπετο, πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀδεξιώτατος καὶ ἀμουσότατος γεγονώς. Οὔκουν ἠρυθρία ἐπὶ μέσου θεάτρου ἐξᾴδων καὶ ποδὶ τὸ μέλος ῥυθμίζων καὶ κατακλῶν τοὺς δακτύλους πρὸς τὰς τῶν ᾀσμάτων καμπάς. Ἐπὶ τούτου Οὐεσπασιανὸς μὲν στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων πορθεῖ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀναιρεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ πτερυγίου ὡσάντων αὐτόν. Καὶ ὁ βδελυρὸς οὗτος Νέρων βιαίως τὴν ζωὴν ἀπορρήγνυσι.

22 Γάλβας δὲ (τῶν μὲν εὐπατριδῶν οὗτος καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐπίσημος, οὐ πάνυ δὲ τὸ ἦθος στάσιμος οὐδὲ τὴν βασιλείαν γενναίως ἡνιοχῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντων πραγμάτων κατολιγωρῶν καὶ πάσης φυλακῆς ἀμελῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἁλώσιμος [οὗτος]) οὗτος τίθεται ἑαυτῷ παῖδα Λούκιον ἄνδρα καὶ τούτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐταμιεύετο. Ἀλλ' Ὄθων ὁ παραδυναστεύων αὐτῷ βασκαίνει τῷ πράγματι· ἑαυτῷ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμνηστεύετο καὶ ἐπιθέμενος αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται. Εὐήθης δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ὁ Γάλβας ὢν ἕτοιμος μὲν ἦν τὰς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν εὐχείρωτος αἴτησιν καὶ πρὸς μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀνανεύων, ἐπλήρου δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν ὑπεσχημένων. Ἔνθεν τοι καὶ μῖσος κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπέθρεψε καὶ ἐν ἴσῳ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τὸ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀπαρνεῖσθαι. Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ μῆνας θ' καὶ ἡμέρας ιγ'.

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26 πρῶτος, *vide comm.* **31** πρὸς : περὶ **32** ἐρυθρία, sed fortasse leg. ἐρυθριᾷ, *vide comm.* **38** Γάλβος, sed cf. l. 45 εὖ πατρίδων **41** οὗτος[1] delevi, *vide comm.* **48** τὸ : τῶ *bis*

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20 καὶ Μάρκος ... καθίσταται: cf. Ecl. Hist. 279,30—32 **21—23** Σίμων ὁ μάγος ... ἐσέβετο: cf. Ecl. Hist. 279,24—26 **23—24** cf. Ecl. Hist. 279,21 **§ 21** *vide comm.* **30** πρῶτος ... διωγμοῦ: cf. Zon. II 479,1 ex Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* II,25 **38** εὐπατριδῶν: cf. Zon. II 479,16—17 αὐτοκράτορα δὲ Γάλβαν τὸν Σερούϊον τὸν Σουλπίκιον προεχειρίσατο, γενόμενον ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν. In Xiphilini autem excerptione verba προεχειρίσατο-εὐπατριδῶν desiderantur. Vide etiam Ecl. Hist. 280, 31—32: Γάλβας ἐβασίλευσε μῆνας θ' ἡμέρας ιγ'· ἦν

Agrippa himself is also killed, struck from heaven, and Mark the evangelist is appointed bishop and herald of the Alexandrians. Simon the magician associated with magicians and learned their skill to perfection. He revealed miraculous things and was venerated by silly people as having supernatural power.
He (Claudius) ate a drugged mushroom at dinner and died.

21 Nero, Claudius' son. He was a most abominable and scandalous man, you may also say most stupid; creation had no more seen such a man until then than it hopes to see his like again. For he killed his mother and his wife, he fell in love with a eunuch and legalised as it were this transgression of law by organising his own wedding party, and he put to death not only the apostles Peter and Paul but was also in a manner of speaking the first to set up the persecution (of the Christians). He did not care much for imperial duties but concentrated on songs and dances, even though he surpassed everybody in his lack of technique and musicality. He therefore felt no shame to sing aloud in the centre of the theatre and to accompany the melody with rhythmic foot-stamping and to follow the turns of the songs by gesturing with his fingers.
During his reign the Roman general Vespasian besieges Jerusalem and James the brother of the Lord is killed by the Jews, who pushed him from the pinnacle of the temple.
This abominable Nero's life is violently put to an end.

22 Galba (ms. Galbos) was one of the patricians and of distinguished fame. On the other hand he had anything but a stable character, and he did not handle the reins of the empire in a brave manner. He did not care much about the affairs of state, fully neglected his personal safety and he was therefore an easy prey for everyone. He adopted the grown-up Lucius and held out to him the prospect of the empire. But his co-ruler is angry at this; he wished the reign for himself and thus attacks and kills Galba and takes possession of the empire.
Good-hearted as he was in many respects, Galba readily made promises, showed himself accessible to any demand, refused nothing whatever it was, but he fulfilled none of his promises. Hence he cultivated even hatred against himself, because everybody had the impression that promise had for him the same value as refusal.
He reigned nine months and thirteen days.

δὲ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν· εἶχε δὲ παραδυναστεύοντα τὸν Ὄθωνα, ... ≂ Cedr. I 379,10–11. **42** παραδυναστεύων: vide ad 38 **47–48** cf. Plut. *Galba* 22,1: οἱ στρατευόμενοι τὸν Γάλβαν ἐμίσουν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντα τὴν δωρεάν, ... (cf. etiam ibid. cap. 2)

23 Ὄθων. Γένους ἀσήμου ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἐγεγόνει, ἡ δὲ βασιλεία μέγαν ἐκήρυξε καὶ ἐπισημότατον. Φιλοθύτης δὲ ἦν εἴπερ τις ἄλλος καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖς ἑλληνίοις πανηγυρίζων. Ἀφροδίτῃ δὲ προσέκειτο μάλιστα καὶ τοῖς κατ᾽ αὐτὴν μυστηρίοις. Ἔνθεν τοι καὶ τελῶν τὰ Ἀφροδίσια αὐλόν 266v τε μετεχειρίζετο καὶ λύραν ἡρμόζετο καὶ τὰ μὲν | ἐμυεῖτο, τὰ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐμυσταγώγει τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ἐξῆρχε δὲ καὶ χορῶν καὶ θυμάτων καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτὸς ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ τὰ ἱερεῖα ἔθυε, πυράν τε ὑπανῆπτεν ἐπιβώμιον, φυσῶν τε καὶ ἀντιφυσώμενος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑστίας ὠργίαζε. Βιτέλλιος γοῦν τις ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐν τέλει βδελυξάμενος τοῦτον πολλάκις τῆς μικροπρεπείας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ μανίας καὶ ἀπληστίας θυμῷ δικαίῳ κινούμενος ἀναιρεῖ ζήσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας μῆνας τρεῖς καὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ διεδέξατο.

24 Βιτέλλιος. Τῶν εὖ γεγονότων καὶ ὁ Βιτέλλιος καὶ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ προγόνων ἐπισημότατος. Ἀνελὼν δὲ Ὄθωνα καὶ τὴν βασίλειον ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος, βαρβάροις μὲν πολεμίοις οὐκ ἀντηλλάξατο, ἀστρονόμοις δὲ καὶ ἀστρολόγοις οὕτω πικρῶς ἐπολέμησεν ὥστε βούλεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην διαγράψασθαι τοῦ καταλόγου καὶ συνανελεῖν τῷ παντί. Τοὺς γοῦν περὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων κινήσεις καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας τούτων πραγματευομένους τῆς πόλεως ἐξελᾷ προστάξας μηκέτι παλινδρομῆσαι καὶ ἀπειλήσας ὡς αὐτίκα τεθνήξονται. Ἔνιοι δὲ τούτων καὶ ἐξελαυνόμενοι τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ προηγόρευσαν καὶ ἡμέραν ῥητὴν τῆς ἐξαγωγῆς προειρήκασι, καθ᾽ ἣν καὶ ἐτετελευτήκει ἔτος ἓν καταμείνας ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ δείξας, οἷς ἀνῄρει ἀστρονομίαν, βεβαίαν οὖσαν τὴν ἐπιστήμην· ἐπεπόνθει γὰρ ὅπερ αὐτὴ προῃρήκει καὶ ἐτεθνήκει καθ᾽ ἣν ἡμέραν προηγορεύκει.

25 Οὐεσπασιανός. Μέγας Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐν βασιλεῦσιν ἐγεγόνει, ἀσήμων μὲν γονέων ἀποτεχθείς, ἐπισημότατος δὲ ἐν πολέμοις ἀναδειχθεὶς καὶ βεβοημένος ἐν κατορθώμασιν. Οὗτος κατὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καταστρατεύσας τῶν ταύτης πόλεων ἃς μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως, ἃς δὲ ἐκ τειχομαχίας ἐκράτησε, καὶ Ἰώσηπον τὸν συγγραφέα ὑποχείριον ἐποιήσατο. Ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ δὲ ἔτι τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενον σύμπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στρατιᾶς περιστάντες βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἀνηγορεύκασι καὶ δορυφοροῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγον. Ἦν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θαυμάσιος, φιλοχρήματος δέ. Ἔνθεν τοι καὶ τοὺς βασιλείους θησαυροὺς περιχειλεῖς χρυσίου πεποίηκε. Νοσήσας τε τελευτᾷ βασιλεύσας ἔτη ὀκτωκαίδεκα καὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, εἰδὼς μέν, ὅτι αὐτίκα ἀποβιοῖ, πράττων δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ δημόσια.

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58 μικροπ(ρ)ετείας (?) **65** ὥστε : ὡς μὴ *vide comm.* **67** περὶ τὰς : τὰς περὶ correxi **73** αὐτὴν **82** βασιλείους : βασὶ . Possis βασιλικούς

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50 γένους ἀσήμου: cf. Ecl. Hist. 281,4—5 Ὄθων ἐβασίλευσε μῆνας τρεῖς, ἡμέρας η', ἦν δὲ γένους ἀσήμου, = Cedr. I 379,16—17. **75** ἀσήμων μὲν γονέων ἀποτεχθείς: cf. Ecl. Hist. 281,19—20 ἦν δὲ γονέων ἀσήμων. In Cedreno I 380,4 sqq., ubi eadem fere inveniuntur, haec verba desiderantur. **78** καὶ Ἰώσηπον τὸν συγγραφέα ὑποχείριον ἐποιήσατο: =

23 Otho. This emperor was not of noble descent, but imperial propaganda made him great and as of gentle birth. He was more fond of sacrifices than anybody else and he celebrated festivals for all the Greek (*or* pagan) gods. Aphrodite and her mysteries were his favourites. Hence, when performing the Aphrodisian rites, he played the *aulos* and turned the lyre, and so he was initiated himself, and introduced others into the mysteries as well. He led the procession of choruses and victims and he sacrificed the animals with his own hands, kindled the stake on the altar using the bellows, and performed the rites on the hearth. Thus he often shocked one of the powerful men, Vitellius, who was annoyed by his lack of nobility, his mania for religious performances and his greediness. Moved by a righteous rage he killed him after an imperial life of three months and eight days.
Vitellius himself took over the office.

24 Vitellius. Vitellius belonged among the well-to-do and could glory in many famous ancestors. Having killed Otho and taken over the imperial rule he did not occupy himself for a change with the barbarian enemies, but he made a bitter war upon astronomers and astrologers with the intention that this knowledge be erased from the list of professions and utterly destroyed. The professional observers of the movements of the stars and their energies he banished from the city under threat of immediate death penalty if they ever tried to come back. But some of them, even having been chased away, not only predicted his death but also foretold the date fixed for his departure from life. He died, indeed, at that date after a one year's stay in office, having produced evidence for those, whose science he tried to annihilate, of the real value of this astronomy. For he fared in the way astronomy had forecasted and he died at the predicted day.

25 Vespasian. Vespasian has become a great name among the emperors. True, he descended from insignificant parents, but he proved to be very significant in warfare and was famous because of his achievements. He made war upon Judaea and took its towns, some in pitched battles, others by storming the walls. He also brought the author Josephus into subjection.
Already during his stay in Palestine he was surrounded by the mass of his army, who cheered him as emperor of the Romans and gave him armed protection on his way to Rome. He was admirable in all things, but also fond of money. Thus he filled the emperor's treasuries to the brim with gold. Illness ended his life after a reign of eighteen years and eight days, and though well aware of his imminent death he continued to occupy himself with public affairs.

Ecl. Hist. 281,21–22 ὅστις καὶ Ἰώσηπον ... ἐποιήσατο, = Cedr. I 380,6–7

26 Τίτος υἱὸς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ. Καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὁ Τίτος καὶ βασιλεὺς δικαιότατος καὶ φιλανθρωπότατος καὶ τήν τε χεῖρα δραστήριος καὶ τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐπισημότατος, ἄφθονός τε τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ῥεῦμα ποτάμιον. Ὁπότε γοῦν οὐκ ἔτυχεν εὐεργεσίαις χρησάμενος 'οὐκ ἐβασιλεύσαμεν' ἔλεγε 'τήμερον'. Οὐδένα δὲ τῶν πάντων τῶν εἰς ὄψιν ἐληλυθότων αὐτῷ ἐπιδεῆ χρημάτων ἐξέπεμπε. Ἵνα δὲ μὴ ταῖς ὑπερβαλλούσαις φιλανθρωπίαις κατολιγωροῖτο, ἀπειλαῖς μόνον, οὓς τιμωρεῖν οὐκ ἐβούλετο, κατεδείμαινεν. Ἀλλ' ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ Δομετιανὸς βασκαίνει τῆς βασιλείας καὶ ἐπειδὴ πυρετοῖς ἑαλώκει σφόδρα τοῦτον ἐκτήκουσι τῇ θερμότητι, καταψύξας σφοδρῶς ἐξεπίτηδες καὶ πλείονα τῆς ὑποκειμένης τὴν ἀντίρροπον ποιήσας ποιότητα δεινῶς ἀναιρεῖ, δύο ἔτη πρὸς τρισὶ μησὶ τὴν βασίλειον ἀρχὴν κατασχόντα.

27 Δομετιανὸς ὁ ἀδελφὸς Τίτου. Ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν σπαργάνων ἐγεγόνει τῷ Τίτῳ ὁ Δομετιανός, ἀντίρροπος δὲ αὐτῷ τοὺς τρόπους ἐγένετο, ἵνα συνελὼν εἴπω. Φονικώτατός τε γὰρ καὶ ἀσελγέστατος ἦν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος Νέρωνι ὅμοιος. Βραχείας γοῦν ἐπειλημμένος προφάσεως ἐπῆγε τῷ συκοφαντηθέντι τὸν σίδηρον καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τέλει ἀνεῖλεν ὑποπτεύσας αὐτοὺς ἐκ προρρήσεως ἀστρονομικῆς. Ἐπὶ τούτου ὁ Τυανεὺς Ἀπολλώνιος ἐγνωρίζετο, ἀνὴρ γόης καὶ πολὺς τὰ δαιμόνια πράγματα. Λάρκος δέ τις ἀστρονόμος προειρηκὼς Δομετιανῷ τὸν θάνατον καὶ ῥητὴν ἡμέραν ἀποφηνάμενος ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐγεγόνει, ὡς αὐτίκα ἀποθανεῖται, εἰ φανείη ψευδόμαντις. Ἀλλ' ἐτετελευτήκει κατὰ προθεσμίαν βασιλεύσας ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη μηνὸς δέοντος.

28 Γέρβας. Γέρβας ὁ βασιλεύς, εἰ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων εἵπετο δόγμασι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἑλληνίζων ἦν, ἀλλὰ σώφρων καὶ ἐπιεικέστατος ἐγνωρίζετο. Ἀνακαλεῖται γοῦν αὐτίκα τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ ὑπερορίας καὶ καθιστᾷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, ἔνθα καὶ τελευτᾷ. Καὶ τὸν διωγμὸν τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἔπαυσε. Προσέταξέ τε μὴ ἐκτέμνεσθαι ἄνδρα μηδὲ τῶν παιδογόνων στερεῖσθαι μορίων καὶ ἐκθηλύνεσθαι. Ἐπὶ τῆς τούτου βασιλείας πολὺς ἦν Τραϊανὸς ἐν κατορθώμασιν· ὅθεν, ἐπειδὴ γονῆς ἐστέρητο Γέρβας, υἱοθετεῖ τε τοῦτον καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ (ἦν δὲ ἡμέρα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀρίσημος καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἅπας ἐκεῖσε συνῆκτο ἐκ πανηγυρικῆς καταγγελίας) αὐτοκράτορα Ῥωμαίων ἀνακηρύττει Τραϊανόν, ὃν δὴ καὶ διάδοχον ἐποιήσατο ζήσας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἔτος ἓν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας.

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85 Τίτος[2] : Τῖτος **8** Τυανιεὺς : alibi Τυανεὺς cf. Ecl. Hist. 282,13, Zon. II 503,5, Cedr. I 431,3 **9** Λάρκος *vide comm.* **13** Γέρβας *vide comm.* **20** υἱοθετεῖ τοῦτον· καὶ : correxit Kambylis **21** ἀρήσιμος

7–8 cf. Anon. Sath. 30,15 Ἐπὶ τούτου Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυανεὺς ὁ πολὺς τὰ μαγικὰ ἐγνωρίζετο. **14** σώφρων καὶ ἐπιεικέστατος: cf. Ecl. Hist. 283,4 σώφρων ὢν καὶ ἐπιεικής = Cedr. I 433,19; ἐπιεικής etiam in Manasses 2134 **15–16** ≈ Ecl. Hist. 283,5–6 ubi nomen Ioannis Evangelistae supplendum est, cf. Cedr. I 434,3, Georg. Mon. 447,3. Vide et

26 Titus, son of Vespasian. Titus, too, was an excellent man and a very righteous and humane emperor. He demonstrated great personal energy and a remarkable knowledge of strategy. His mind was free of jealousy, his hand a flowing river of generosity. Whenever he had not demonstrated his liberality, he used to say: "we have not been emperor today". Of all people who came to him for an audience, none was sent away in need of money. In order to avoid contempt as a consequence of his too generous humanity, he frightened away by mere threatening those whom he did not want to punish. His brother Domitian, however, begrudged him his power, and when Titus was seized by violent fevers that consumed him with heat, he cooled him down too strongly by supplying with malice a forethought more of the counterbalancing material than was prescribed, and killed him thus awfully after he had exercised imperial power during two years and three months.

27 Domitian, Titus' brother. The same swaddling-clothes covered Domitian as Titus, but he was the absolute opposite of his brother in character, to put it in a nutshell. For he was very murderous and brutal, and in this respect the equal of Nero. The slightest indication was enough for him to put even one falsely accused to the sword and he had many powerful people killed because of suspicions based on astrological prediction. During his reign lived Apollonius of Tyana, famous for his magic and his supernatural powers. Another astrologer, Larcus, predicted Domitian's death and revealed a fixed date. He was put in irons in order to be killed if his prophecy turned out to be false. But Domitian died as foretold; he reigned sixteen years less one month.

28 Gerva [sic! = Nerva]. Albeit the emperor Gerva was a strong adherent of the Roman religion and for the most part thoroughly pagan, he was all the same respected as a prudent and very reasonable man. Thus he immediately released John the evangelist from his exile on Patmos and permitted him residence in Ephesus, where he also died. He put a stop to the persecution of the Christians and decreed that no man should be either castrated, or deprived of his genitalia or emasculated. During his rule Trajan was very successful with his campaigns. Hence Gerva, having no offspring, adopted him. And he went up to the Capitol (it was one of the festival days, an important holiday, and the whole populace was gathered there, having been invited to the festival) and proclaimed Trajan emperor of the Romans. And he made him his successor after an emperor's life of one year and four months.

Mal. 268,12, Chron. Pasch. I 469,7 Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* III,21 et 23, II,15. Cf. etiam Joel 29,14 sqq. **16** ὑπερορίας: idem verbum habet Zon. II 505,19 **17–18** cf. Zon. II 506,20–21 < Dio Cass. 68,2,4, Xiph. 227. Vide et Ecl. Hist. 283,9; Cedr. I 434,2 **20** υἱοθετεῖ τε τοῦτον: cf. Ecl. Hist. 283,9 „... Τραϊανὸν υἱοποιοῦμαι" = Cedr. I 434,1

29 Τραϊανός. Κελτὸς μὲν καὶ βάρβαρος ὁ βασιλεὺς Τραϊανός, φιλολογώτατος δὲ εἴπερ τις ἄλλος τῶν βασιλέων καὶ Δίωνι τῷ Χρυσῷ τὴν γλῶτταν προσκείμενος, φίλοικτός τε καὶ μισοπόνηρος καὶ τὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης στάθμην ἀκριβέστατος. Μέσος δὲ ἐγεγόνει τὰ ἐς φιλοτιμίαν Χριστιανοῖς· οὔτε γὰρ ἐδίωκεν οὔτε ἐξήλαυνε τούτους τῶν πόλεων, ἐμπεσόντας δὲ καὶ μὴ πειθομένους κολάζεσθαι διωρίσατο. Αὐτὸς γοῦν ἀνῃρήκει καὶ τὸν θεοφόρον Ἰγνάτιον καὶ Συμεῶνα τὸν τοῦ Κλεόπα. Ηὔξησε δὲ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείαν πολλοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ κατορθώμασι. Βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη πρὸς μησὶν ἓξ κατὰ φύσιν ἀποβιοῖ, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλειν τελευτᾶν Ἀδριανὸν Αἴλιον βασιλέα προχειρίζεται.

30 Ἀδριανὸς Αἴλιος φιλολογώτατος εἴπερ τις ἄλλος τῶν βασιλέων. Ἤσκει γοῦν ἑκατέρους τῶν λόγων, τόν τε πεζὸν καὶ τὸν ἔμμετρον, καὶ συγγράμματα ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐξενηνόχει ὅσα χάριτος καὶ ὅσα σεμνότητος. Πόλεις τε ἤγειρεν ἔν τε Μυσίᾳ, ἔνθα ἐθήρα, καὶ ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ, καὶ ἐπωνύμους τῆς αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας ὠνόμασεν. Ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν ὑγιὴς καὶ ἄρτιος ἦν, ὅσα γε ἐς σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀρετήν, τὸ δὲ σῶμα διελελώβητο. Ἔνθεν τοι αἰδούμενος τὰς ἐν πόλει διατριβὰς ἐν ἀγρῷ τινι
267r ἑαυτὸν κατακρύπτει, ἔνθα δὴ ἑπτὰ ἔτη βεβιωκὼς | τελευτᾷ, Ἀντωνῖνον τὸν εὐσεβῆ ἐπονομαζόμενον βασιλέα προχειρισάμενος. Ἤλγει δὲ τελευτῶν τοσοῦτον ὡς ἀνακαλεῖσθαι πολλάκις τὸν θάνατον.

31 Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ εὐσεβής. Πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν βασιλεῖ πρέπουσαν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντωνῖνος ἐκτήσατο. Σώφρων γὰρ ἦν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἑαυτοῦ ὅλην πεποίηται, γενναιότατός τε καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐληλυθὼς φρονήσεως· καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι μέρος ἢ μόριον τῆς γενικῆς ἀρετῆς ἑαυτὸν διελάνθανεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις πάντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς ὑπερεβάλλετο. Ἔνθεν τοι καὶ εὐσεβὴς κατ' ἐξαίρετον ἐπωνόμαστο. Μάρκον δὲ τὸν σοφώτατον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τηνικαῦτα κατὰ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν καλοῦ διαλάμποντα υἱὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλέα ποιεῖται καὶ διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς καθιστᾷ, βιοὺς ἔτη τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν.

32 Μάρκος Ἀντωνῖνος. Κρᾶμα πασῶν ἀρετῶν Μάρκος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἷος οὐκ ἄλλος, οὔτε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον ἐπι-

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29 ἐδίωκας ut e ligatura videtur, sed nonnisi errorem scribae simplicem esse pro ἐδίωκεν manifestum est (compendium c pro compendio <, cf. f. 267r, l. 4) **30** διορίσατο (cf. Renauld, *Et* 48) **31** τῶ Κλεώπα , cf. Ecl. Hist. 283, 25, Cedr. I 437,12 **36** λόγον **50** ὑπερεβάλετο εὐσεβὴς ms. post corr. **53** βιούς sic ms.; vide et 12,83; 24,22–23, sed possis βιοὺς ⟨ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς⟩ compar. 24,12 **55** Πρᾶμα , Π minio scripto et anteposito

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27 μισοπόνηρος: cf. Ecl. Hist. 283,12 ὃς ἦν μισοπόνηρος καὶ φιλοδίκαιος = Cedr. I 436,18, vide et Georg. Mon. 450,7, Joel 29,21 **29** ἐμπεσόντας: cf. Ecl. Hist. 283,25–26 Τραϊανὸς προσέταξε τὸ Χριστιανῶν φῦλον μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μέν, ἐμπεσὼν (leg. -ὸν) δὲ κολάζεσθαι, ≂

29 Trajan. The emperor Trajan was a Celt and a barbarian, but highly interested, more than any of the other emperors, in literature and fond of Dio with his golden tongue (i. e. Dio Chrystomos). He was compassionate, he hated evil, he administered justice according to the most strict rules. He took a moderate position towards the Christians. On the one hand he did not persecute them nor drive them out of the cities; on the other hand, if disobedient when brought to trial, they had to be punished according to his decisions. In any case it was he who had the devout Ignatius and Symeon, son of Cleophas, executed. He expanded the territory of the Roman empire by means of many successful battles.
He died a natural death after ruling for nineteen years and six months. Near to death he appointed Hadrianus Aelius emperor.

30 Hadrianus Aelius was one of the most literate men among the emperors. He practised both literary forms, prose and poetry, and published writings which breathe both grace and earnest. He founded cities in Mysia, where he used to hunt, and in Thracia, and gave them his name. As to his mind, he was sound and to the point in all things that concerned moderate and virtuous rule; as to his body, he was handicapped. Hence he disliked life in the city and hid himself somewhere in the country. He lived there seven years and died, having appointed Antoninus, surnamed 'pious', as his successor. In dying he suffered such pains that he often called for death.

31 Antoninus Pius. The emperor Antoninus possessed every virtue befitting an emperor. He was self-controlled to the highest degree and made justice his second nature; he was very noble of both body and soul and succeeded to all levels of wisdom. No part, no particle of universal moral virtue escaped his attention, on the contrary, he surpassed all the emperors before him both in talent and achievement. Therefore he was given a special surname: 'pious'. He appointed as his son and co-emperor the very learned Marcus, who at that time in Rome excelled in every aspect of virtue, and made him his successor in office. His life as a ruler lasted twenty-four years.

32 Marcus Antoninus. The emperor Marcus was such a mixture of virtues as was met neither among the emperors before him nor after him. He was a

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Cedr. I 437,6–7 < Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* III 33,2/3 πρὸς ἃ τὸν Τραϊανὸν δόγμα τοιοῦτον τεθεικέναι, τὸ χριστιανῶν φῦλον μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μέν, ἐμπεσὸν δὲ κολάζεσθαι (cf. Niceph. Kall. Xanth. III cap. XVII), cf. Plin. Sec. Epist. CIII Trajanus Plinio: conquirendi non sunt: si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt. Vide et Zon. II 514,5–7, qui eandem habet notitiam non e Dione sed ex Eusebio extractam. **36** cf. Ecl. Hist. 283,31 sqq.: ἦν δὲ φιλόλογος, ἐπιτήδειος ἔν τε τῷ πεζῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ ἐμμέτρῳ ≂ Cedr. I 437,15, *vide* et *comm.* **38** cf. Ecl. Hist. 284,2 sqq. ≂ Cedr. I 437,16 sqq. Vide et Dio Cass. 69,10,2, Zon. II 517,9. **43** ἐπονομαζόμενον, *vide comm.* **43–44** *vide comm.* **45–54** *vide comm.*

γενομένων. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ σοφίας πλήρης, γενναῖος δὲ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ εἰρηνικώτατος μὲν εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, πολεμικώτατος δέ, εἴπερ τούτου δεήσειεν. Ἀμέλει τοι Γερμανοὺς καὶ Σαυρομάτας καὶ γένη ἕτερα πολέμοις μακροῖς ὑπηγάγετο καὶ ὑποφόρους τῇ Ῥώμῃ πεποίηκε. Καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν δὴ ὅσιος ὢν ὅσον εἰκὸς Ἕλληνι, ὄμβρον τε δι' εὐχῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατήνεγκε διψῶσι τοῖς στρατιώταις, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους κεραυνοῖς ἐξαπιναίως ἀπώσατο. Ἐραστὸς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις πολίταις φανεὶς εἰκόνι χρυσῇ παρ' αὐτῶν μετὰ θάνατον τετίμηται. Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ἔτη ἐννεακαίδεκα.

33 Κόμοδος Μάρκου υἱός. Κόμοδος ὁ βασιλεὺς Μάρκου μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ τήν τε ὄψιν καλὸς καὶ τὴν τρίχα εἰκασμένος χρυσῷ, τοὺς δὲ τρόπους ἐναντιώτατος τῷ πατρί. Ἀκόλαστός τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἀλόγιστος, ὁρμητίας τε καὶ [ἀκόλαστος ἤτοι] ἀκρόχολος καὶ λόγου μὲν παντάπασιν ἀμελῶν, ἀνδράσι δὲ κακοηθεστάτοις προσομιλῶν. Ἐθήρα δὲ μανικώτατα καὶ ἐτόξευεν εὐστοχώτατα, ἐθηριομάχει τε γενναιότατα καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τοῦτο ἠνάγκαζεν. Ἐπὶ μετεώρου δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου καθήμενος ἐγεγήθει τοῖς ὁρωμένοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνοσίως χεομένοις ἐγάννυτο αἵμασιν. Ἅπαν δὲ σχεδὸν τὸ γένος κατηναλώκει καὶ τοῖς ἔτι περιοῦσιν ὕποπτος ἐγεγόνει. Νάρκισος δέ τις τῶν δορυφόρων ἀναιρεῖ φαρμάκῳ ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα δυοκαίδεκα.

34 Περτίναξ. Μετὰ τὸν Κομόδου θάνατον ὁ πρεσβύτης Περτίναξ ἀξιοῦται τῆς βασιλείας, ἀνὴρ καὶ τὴν τρίχα λευκὸς καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν πολιός, ἀπ' ἐναντίας δὲ τῶν Κομόδου γενόμενος πράξεων. Τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρ' ἐκείνῳ συνειλεγμένων, οὓς δὴ πρὸς τὰς δημοσίας εἶχε σφαγάς, ἠλάττωκε, φρουράν τε ἐξ ἐκείνων ἀρκοῦσαν πεποίηται ἑαυτῷ καὶ τούτοις τὸν ἀποχρῶντα ἐδίδου μισθόν. Οἱ δὲ ἐμεμήνεσαν καὶ παραψιθυρίσαντες ἀλλήλοις τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτίκα, ᾗ θυμοῦ εἶχον, ξιφήρεις ὥρμησαν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ συνεισπεσόντες ἀνεῖλον, οὐδ' ὅλους μῆνας τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀρκέσαντα καὶ οὔπω οὔτε τὴν γυναῖκα οὔτε τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλείους εἰσαγαγόντα αὐλάς. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τούτου ἀρχῆς Ἀφρικανὸς ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐγνωρίζετο.

35 Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ Δίδιος. Μετηλλαχότος τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ Περτίνακος ἐπιτολμᾷ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὁ Δίδιος Ἰουλιανὸς πολυχρήματος καὶ φιλοχρήματος ἄνθρωπος καὶ δύο ταῦτα νοσῶν ἀπληστίαν καὶ φειδωλίαν. Ὅθεν διὰ μὲν τὴν πολυχρηματίαν ἐπιτυχὴς γίνεται τῆς ἀρχῆς, διὰ δὲ τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν ἐκπίπτει ταύτης ταχύ. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ὧν ἐπηγγείλατο δέδωκε τοῖς

61 δὴ : δὲ **68** ἀκόλαστος ἤτοι (ἦτοι ms.) delendum videtur. **69** ἐν θήρα δὲ μανικώ^τ^ **76** nomen Περτίναξ eadem manu adscriptum est in marg. **78** ἀπεναντίας **79** ἐκεῖνο **88** φιλοχρώματος **90** πολυχρηματίαν : φιλοχρηματίαν

60—63 *vide comm.* **63** εἰκόνι χρυσῇ: cf. Ecl. Hist. 285,8 χρυσῷ ἀνδριάντι = Cedr. I

vessel of wisdom, but also noble-hearted and peace-loving as no other; if required, however, he was a formidable warrior too. At any rate he subdued the Germans, the Sauromates and other tribes in lasting wars and made them tributary to Rome. His relation to God was of a devout nature considering his paganism: he once prayed the rain out of heaven for his thirsty soldiers and he kept off the enemies with sudden lightnings. How beloved he was among his own citizens became clear from the golden statue with which they honoured him after his death. He reigned nineteen years.

33 Commodus, son of Marcus. The emperor Commodus was, it is true, a son of the wise Marcus and a good-looking fellow with hair that resembled gold, but he was in character the very opposite of his father. He was wanton and foolish, impetuous and irascible, avoiding literature absolutely but associating eagerly with the most wicked people. He was a maniacal hunter and a very precise shooter. He often joined in contests with wild beasts — and did so bravely — but he also forced many other citizens to do the same. And sitting on his high seat in the theatre he enjoyed the performances and was delighted at the occasions of unholy bloodshed. He almost destroyed his whole family and held those who survived in suspicion. A certain Narcissus, one of the guard, killed him with poison after a twelve years' reign.

34 Pertinax. After the death of Commodus the senator Pertinax was deemed worthy to be emperor, a man with white hair and mature insight, and in his deeds opposite to Commodus. He reduced the number of men brought together by Commodus with a view to the public executions, and transformed them into a guard which met his needs and paid them a sufficient wage. They were, however, furious with the emperor and in their anger they immediately whispered up conspiracy against him. They rushed upon him, sword in hand, and killed him in collective action. He had not yet served full three months in office and had not even installed his wife and son in the imperial palace. During his reign lived the famous author Africanus.

35 Julianus Didius. After Pertinax had quitted this life, Didius Julianus ventured upon the empire. He was extremely rich and extremely greedy, and suffered from these two diseases: insatiability and parsimony. Thus wealth made him win the throne, greed made him step down soon. For he gave nothing of what he had promised to those who helped him attain his goal,

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441,1–2. Vide et Dio Cass. 71,34,1 = Xiph. 267,11 **66** τὴν τρίχα εἰκασμένος χρυσῷ: cf. Ecl. Hist. 285,16–17 οὗτος εἶχε τρίχας ξανθὰς εἰκασμένας χρυσῷ = Cedr. I 441,3–4. *Vide* et *comm.* **67–73** *vide comm.* **76–81** *vide comm.* **84** cf. Ecl. Hist. 285,23–24 = Cedr. I 441,15–16 De regni Pertinacis spatio falsa communicat Sync. 669,5. Vide et Anon. Sath. 32,24–26, Man. 2253–54. **85** *vide comm.* **87–1** *vide comm.*

συναραμένοις αὐτῷ τοῦ σκοποῦ, ἀλλ᾿ ὥσπερ κατακολπίσας τοὺς θησαυροὺς οὐδενὸς χρήματος τοῖς στρατιώταις αὐτοῦ ἐκοινώνησεν. Ὅθεν ἀθρόον ἐπ᾿ αὐτὸν ὡρμηκότες οἱ τῶν ἐλπίδων διαψευσθέντες ἐλεεινότατα κατασφάττουσι ζήσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ οὕτως εἰπεῖν 'δυστυχήσαντα', ἡμέρας ἑξήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἕξ.

36 Σεβῆρος. Βασιλεύει μετὰ τὸν Ἰουλιανοῦ θάνατον ἀνὴρ στρατηγικώτατος Σεβῆρος ὄνομα. Οὗτος τὸ Βυζάντιον πολιορκήσας εἷλε τειχομαχῶν. Ἐτετείχιστο δὲ ἀρρήκτοις τείχεσιν ἑπτὰ πύργοις διερειδόμενον ἐκ τῶν Θρᾳκικῶν πυλῶν ἀρχομένοις καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρκτῴαν καθήκουσι θάλασσαν. Εἰ δέ τις τῷ πρώτῳ πύργῳ ἠρέμα παρεψιθύρισεν ἢ τῷ δακτύλῳ ἐπέπληξεν, αὐτός τε ἤχει καὶ ὁ ἦχος τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ἐκ διαδοχῆς διεδίδοτο. Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ Ζεύξιππον λοετρὸν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις ἐξῳκοδόμησε καὶ τῷ ἐκεῖσε θεάτρῳ τὰς πρώτας βάσεις ὑπέθετο. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τούτου ἀρχῆς Ὠριγένης τε ὁ Λεωνίδου τῆς ἰδίας αἱρέσεως ἤρξατο καὶ Παῦλος ὁ Σαμοσατεὺς καὶ Ἀρτέμων τῆς ἰδίας κακοδοξίας τοὺς σπινθῆρας ὑπέφλεγον. Ζήσας δὲ Σεβῆρος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτη ἑπτακαίδεκα τελευτᾷ.

37 Ἀντωνῖνος. Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ βασιλεὺς υἱὸς μὲν Σεβήρου ἱστόρηται, ἀπεχθὴς δὲ ἄνθρωπος καὶ μισάδελφος. Ἀναιρεῖ γοῦν τὸν ἀδελφὸν Γέταν εἰπεῖν τι κρυφίως προσκαλεσάμενος. Εἶτα δὴ ἔξεισιν ἠπειγμένως ὡς μόλις ἐκεῖνον διεκφυγὼν ἀνελεῖν τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιχειρήσαντα. Ἀλλὰ Σαραπίων, ἀνὴρ δεινὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων τὸ μέλλον μαντεύσασθαι, προὔλεγε πᾶσιν, ὡς ὑπὸ Μακρίνου Ἀντωνῖνος τεθνήξεται. Ἦν δὲ Μακρῖνος τῶν περὶ τὴν γερουσίαν καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει, ὑποπτευθεὶς δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ τὰς προρρήσεις τοῦ Σαραπίωνος προεπιβουλεύει τἀνδρὶ καὶ τὸν καιρὸν εὖ θέμενος κυνηγετοῦντα λαθὼν ἀποκτείνει, τοσοῦτον ἐπ᾿ αὐτῷ εἰρηκώς, ὅτι 'σὲ τὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αἷμα ἀντιπεριῆλθεν ὑπὸ σοφῇ προνοίᾳ'. Ἔζησε δὲ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἔτη ἓξ πρὸς τοῖς δυσὶ μησίν.

38 Μακρῖνος. Ἀλλ᾿ οὐδὲ ὁ ἀποκτείνας Ἀντωνῖνον Μακρῖνος καὶ παρανόμως ἐπὶ τὴν βασίλειον ἀρχὴν ἀναβὰς ἀπολελαύκει τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐξελάσας Ἄβιτον τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὸν Ἀντωνίνου υἱόν, ᾧ δὴ κατὰ νόμους ἡ κληρονομία τῆς βασιλείας καθῆκεν. Ἀνὴρ γάρ τις κατ᾿ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ Εὐτυχιανὸς τοὔνομα στρατιωτικὴν χεῖρα συχνὴν οἰκειωσάμενος χρήμασιν Ἀβίτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιφημίζει καὶ διάδημα τῇ κεφαλῇ περιτίθησιν.
267v Εἶτα δὴ πόλεμος | Ἀβίτῳ καὶ Μακρίνῳ συρρήγνυται. Καὶ πίπτει μὲν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ὄχλος πολύς, ἡττᾶται δὲ τέλος ὁ Μακρῖνος καὶ φυγῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν πιστεύει. Ἀλλ᾿ αὕτη τοῦτον ἠρνήσατο· κατόπιν γὰρ ἄνδρες ἐκ τῆς ἀντικειμένης μερίδος τοῖς ἵπποις ἐλάσαντες καταλαμβάνουσιν ἅμα καὶ σφάττουσιν ἔτος ἓν καὶ ἡμέρας ὀλιγοστὰς βασιλεύσαντα.

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6 δεκακτύλω **13** Ἀντωνῖνος: bis deest A **16** ἐπιχειρήσαντας **20** προσεπιβουλεύει

3 cf. Ecl. Hist. 286,9–10 = Cedr. I 442,8–9 **4–7** ≈ Ecl. Hist. 286,10–15 ≅ Cedr. I 442,9–15 ≅ Anon. Sath. 33,5–10 **7–9** ≈ Ecl. Hist. 286,15–17 ≅ Cedr. I 442,15–17,

but while, as it were, cramming his pockets with treasures, he neglected to distribute one penny to his soldiers. Therefore, their hopes being deceived, they suddenly attacked him and slaughtered him dreadfully after a life, better to say: a 'failure' in office, of sixty-six days.

36 Severus. After Julian's death reigns a very successful general, named Severus. He had besieged Byzantium and taken it by storming the walls. But now it was walled with impenetrable walls and fortified with seven towers. The walls began at the Thracian gate and came down to the sea in the north. And if you softly whispered along the first tower or tapped on it with your finger, not only the tower itself echoed, but the echo went successively through all the towers. This emperor also built the Zeuxippos bath for the Byzantines, and laid the foundations for the theatre there. During his reign Origenes, son of Leonidas, started his own heresy, and Paulus of Samosata and Actemon also secretly kindled the sparks of that heretical opinion of theirs.
Severus died after seventeen years in office.

37 Antoninus. History calls emperor Antoninus a son of Severus; he was at the same time an awful man who hated his brother. Consequently he killed his brother Geta having invited him for a secret interview. Immediately thereafter he comes out in a hurry, as if scarcely having escaped from that man's first attack. But Sarapion, a man who knew how to foretell the future from the stars, prophesied that Antoninus would die by the hand of Macrinus. Macrinus was a senator and a magistrate. He felt himself under suspicion of the emperor because of the prophecies of Sarapion, and plotted against the man beforehand. He chose the right moment during a hunt and killed him unseen, having said no more to him than this: "a wise providence brought your brother's blood upon you at last".
Antoninus' life as emperor lasted six years and two months.

38 Macrinus. But Macrinus had no more profit by the empire than Antoninus whom he had killed and whom he had succeeded by wresting the power also from Antoninus' son Avitus, who according to the laws should have inherited the empire. For at the same time, a person named Eutychianus had gathered a considerable military force at his own cost and he promised to make Avitus emperor and put the diadem round his head. As a consequence war broke out between Avitus and Macrinus. On both sides masses of people fell, but at the end Macrinus was defeated and sought refuge in flight. Refuge, however, refused him, for men of the opposite side came after him on horseback, seized and killed him, after he had been emperor one year and a few days.

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cf. Anon. Sath 33,2–3. **9–11** *vide comm.* **13–23** *vide comm.* **16–18** cf. Ecl. Hist. 286,26–28 ≂ Cedr. I 448,22–449,2 **20** προεπιβουλεύει – **22**: cf. Ecl. Hist. 287,1–5 = Cedr. I 449,4–8. *Vide* et *comm.* **24–34** *vide comm.*

39 Ἄβιτος ὁ Ἀντωνίνου υἱός. Οὐδ' Ἄβιτος ὁ Ἀντωνίνου καλός, ἀλλὰ παρανομώτατος καὶ ἀσελγέστατος ἄνθρωπος, θῆλυς ἄντικρυς καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ποιῶν, τὰ δὲ πάσχων, ἵν' ἐπικαλύψας ἐρῶ· καί, τὸ μηδ' ἀκοῇ φορητόν, Ἱεροκλέα τινὰ τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνου ἄνδρα ἑαυτῷ πεποίηται, τὸ δ' ἔτι τούτου ἀνοσιώτερον καὶ μιαρώτερον, τοὺς κρείττους ἐξελιπάρει τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν τεμεῖν, εἴ πως δύναιντο, τὸ ἐφήβαιον καὶ γυναικείαν σχηματίσαι αἰδῶ. Ἀνὴρ δέ τις ἐξανέψιος Ἀλέξανδρος τοὔνομα βδελυξάμενος τοῦτον τῆς ἀναισχυντίας λαθὼν ἀναιρεῖ, ἑαυτῷ καὶ πάλαι τὴν ἀρχὴν μνηστευσάμενος. Ἦν δὲ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μήτηρ Μαμαία τοὔνομα θερμὴ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Τῷ μέντοιγε Ἀβίτῳ ὅρος τῆς βασιλείας τρία ἔτη καὶ μῆνες ἐννέα.

40 Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μαμαίας παῖς. Νεανίας οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ φιλομήτωρ πλέον τοῦ δέοντος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔπραττέ τι ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῇ μητρὶ φιλαρχούσῃ ὑπέκειτο. Ἡ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβὴς ἐγνωρίζετο, οὐ μέντοιγε καὶ αὐτάρκης πρὸς βασιλείαν κυβέρνησιν, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτῇ τὸ βουλόμενον πλέον τοῦ πρέποντος καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὥσπερ τινὰ πῶλον ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν ὁρμῶντα ἐδάμαζε καὶ κατεῖχε χαλιναγωγοῦσα σφοδρῶς. Ὁ δὲ ὑπέκυπτε πρὸς τὸ τῆς χειρὸς ἕλκον ἡνιοχούμενος. Εἰ δὲ καὶ δεήσοι στρατεύεσθαι, αὐτὴ διέταττεν αὐτῷ τὸν στρατόν. Ἀμέλει τοι καὶ Πέρσαις συμμίξας ἡττήθη καὶ αὖθις ἐπανελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια ὑπὸ τῷ τῆς μητρὸς κόλπῳ ἐτιθηνεῖτο. Καὶ παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποσφάττεται, ἔτη τρισκαίδεκα καὶ μῆνας ἓξ βεβασιλευκώς.

41 Μαξιμῖνος. Ὄπισθεν μὲν καὶ τοῦτον τῶν λοχευομένων ὥσπερ τὸν Δαβὶδ ἀνεῖλε θεὸς καὶ εἰς βασιλείαν καθίστησι· ῥώμην γὰρ εὐτυχήσας σώματος ἀπὸ ποιμενικῆς ἐπιστασίας τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν στρατιωτῶν γίνεται, εἶτα στρατηγεῖ καὶ τέλος βασιλεὺς ἀνηγόρευται. Ἦν δὲ πόλεμον μὲν τάξαι δεινὸς καὶ πῆξαι φάλαγγα ἱκανός, φονικώτατος δὲ καὶ μιαρώτατος ἄνθρωπος καὶ Χριστιανῶν διώκτης βαρύτατος. Πολλοῖς γὰρ τοῖς ἐγγύθεν γενομένοις ἐπιφανεὶς ⟨φονεὺς⟩ πάντας φιλανθρώπους ἀπέδειξε θράσει τε πολλῷ ῥέων καὶ φιλονεικῶν τὸ τῆς ἀσεβείας κράτος αὐτὸς ἀναδήσασθαι. Ἀλλὰ Μάξιμος καὶ Βαλβῖνος ἐπιβεβουλεύκασι τούτῳ καὶ ἀνῃρήκασι ἔτη ἓξ τὴν βασίλειον κατασχόντα ἀρχήν.

42 ⟨Μ⟩άξιμος καὶ Βαλβῖνος. Οἱ βασιλεῖς οὗτοι ἄθλιοι μὲν καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀθλιώτεροι δὲ καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς. Αὐτοί τε γὰρ ἀνελόντες Μαξιμῖνον τῆς βασιλείας βιαίως ἐδράξαντο καὶ στρατιωτῶν ὄχλος αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέμενοι τῆς τε ζωῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀπήλασαν. Παραπολελαύκει δὲ ἐπὶ

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51 τὸ : τῷ **52** πρὸ **57** λογχευομένων : correxi compar. LXX Ps. 77, 71 **63** ⟨φονεὺς⟩ addidi, textum autem graviorem corruptelam continere excludi non potest. *Vide* etiam *comm.* **65** ἀναδείσασθαι **69** ἐφράξαντο . Litterae φ et ρ per ligaturam connectae macula obscuratae sunt. **70** ἀπήλαυσαν

39 Avitus, the son of Antoninus. No better was Avitus, Antoninus' son: on the contrary, a very lawless and licentious person, thoroughly effeminate of body and soul, playing the active part as well as the passive, to say it discretely. And — insulting even to hear it — he made a certain Hierokles, one of his household, his 'husband' and as if this were not yet unholy and scandalous enough, he begged the best of the 'servants of Asklepios' [*i. e.* physicians] to let him undergo, if they were able to do it, a transsexual operation. But a cousin of his, named Alexander, found his shamelessness disgusting and managed to kill him in secret, having already a long time canvassed for his own emperorship. Alexander's mother was Mamaea, a deeply pious woman. As for Avitus, the limit of his rule was three years and nine months.

40 Alexander, the son of Mamaea. This emperor was still a young man and more dependent on his mother than was suitable. He did nothing of his own initiative, but always listened to his imperious mother. Now, she was doubtless known as a pious woman, but not at all equal to imperial government. What she wanted was more than could be realised: she tamed her son, who was eager to rule the empire, as if he were a foal and she kept a tight rein on him. And he obeyed every jerk of the reins in her hand. Even when he had set out on a campaign, she drew up the army for him. No wonder, then, that he lost a battle against the Persians, after which he rushed back to the palace and was soothed at the bosom of his mother. He was butchered by the soldiers after a reign of thirteen years and six months.

41 Maximinus. As God had called David away from his flocks and had made him king, in the same way fared Maximinus. He was gifted with a strong body and, after having been a shepherd, became enlisted in the army. He was appointed general and at last acclaimed emperor. He was on the one hand a formidable marshal and a very clever leader of operations with deep ranks, on the other a very murderous and abominable man and a fierce persecutor of the Christians. For, by turning out to be the murderer of many of his intimates he made all other people look humane, brimming over with brutality and being contentious to win for himself the crown of ungodliness. But he was attacked by Maximus and Balbinus and killed after a six years' rule.

42 Maximus and Balbinus. These emperors had a miserable start and an even worse end. They violently seized power by killing Maximinus, but the mass of soldiers rushed upon them and deprived them of both life and empire.

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§ **39** *vide comm.* § **40** *vide comm.* **54** ἐπανελθὼν: cf. Zon. II 574,12 ἐπανῆλθεν **57** de re, cf. Herod. VII 2, Ecl. Hist. 287, 28, Cedr. I 450,13, Zon. II 574,2. ὥσπερ τὸν Δαβὶδ cf. I Reg. 16,11. **62–65** *vide comm.* **68–73** cf. Ecl. Hist. 288,6–9

κακῷ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ Γορδιανός, καῖσαρ μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ Μαξίμου γενόμενος, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ μετὰ τὸν Μαξίμου θάνατον ἀναδειχθεὶς ὕστερον. Ἀλλὰ Μάξιμος μὲν καὶ Βαλβῖνος ἡμέρας εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς δυσὶν ἐβασίλευσαν, Γορδιανὸς δὲ ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἓξ τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίοις ἴθυνε. Φίλιππος δέ τις κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἀναιρεῖ τοῦτον λαθραίως ἐπιβουλεύσας. Ὠριγένης δὲ καὶ μέχρι Γορδιανοῦ παρέτεινε τὴν ζωήν.

43 Φίλιππος. Φιλίππῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὸ ἄνω γένος ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ ἐπισημότατον καὶ ἡ ἐξ ἐκείνου φῦσα θυγάτηρ μαρτυρικοῖς ἀριστείοις κεκόσμηται, εἴ τις ἀκούει Εὐγενίαν τὴν μάρτυρα. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μέσος ἀμφοῖν τῶν ἄκρων εἴχετο. Ἤνθει δὲ τὰ Περσῶν ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. Σάβορος γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης ἐξῆρχε τοῦ ἔθνους, ἀνὴρ ὑπερωμίας κατὰ τὸν Σαοὺλ καὶ ὑπερμεγέθης τοῦ σώματος τὴν ἀναδρομήν. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον οὖν στρατεύει Φίλιππος καὶ ἀντήρκεσαν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς πολέμοις ἄμφω μαχόμενοι. Ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Περσικὴν καὶ βαρβαρικὴν χεῖρα ἐκπέφευγε Φίλιππος, Δέκιος δέ τις Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς παρατάξεως αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖ ἐκθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενον, ἐνιαυτοὺς πέντε κατασχόντα τὴν βασιλείαν.

44 Δέκιος. Μέγας Χριστιανῶν διώκτης ὁ βασιλεὺς Δέκιος καὶ ποριμώτατος εἰς κακῶν εὕρεσιν καὶ ἐπίνοιαν, τοῖς Διοκλητιανοῖς καὶ τοῖς Μαξιμιανοῖς τοῖς ὕστερον γεγονόσι καὶ βασιλεύσασι παράδειγμα τοῦ τοιούτου κακοῦ γεγονώς. Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας παραταξάμενος πίπτει ἐπὶ τῆς φάλαγγος. Οἱ δέ φασι τοῦτον ἐπαναζευγνύντα ἐν γῇ χαύνῃ τε καὶ πηλώδει διολισθήσαντα σὺν αὐτῷ ἵππῳ καταδεδυκέναι καὶ ἀφανῆ γεγενῆσθαι. Ἐπὶ τούτου Κλήμης ὁ Στρωματεὺς ἐγνωρίζετο Ἀφρικανός τε ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ Ναυάτος πρεσβύτερος· Κυπριανός τε ὁ περιβόητος ἐμαρτύρησε καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ παῖδες οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐν σπηλαίῳ προσπεφευγότες ἀφύπνωσαν καὶ ὁ πολὺς τὰς θαυματουργίας Γρηγόριος ἐγνωρίζετο. Δύο δὲ ἔτη ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας ζήσας τελευτᾷ.

45 ⟨Γ⟩άλλος καὶ Βολουσιανός. Δύο μὲν βεβιώκασιν ἔτη ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτικῆς χειρὸς ἀνῃρέθησαν αὐθάδεις ὄντες κατατολμητίαι καὶ τοῖς πολίταις αὐτῶν ἐπαχθεῖς τε καὶ ἀπεχθεῖς. Τούτοιν δὲ βασιλευόντοιν λοιμώδης νόσος τὴν οἰκουμενικὴν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν κατενείματο ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσι πεντεκαίδεκα, ἀπ' Αἰθιοπίας μὲν ἀρξαμένη τῆς πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον, ἐπιδραμοῦσα δὲ καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν ἑσπέραν. Καὶ Σκύθαι δὲ τὸν Ἴστρον διαπεπλευκότες ποταμηγοῖς σκάφεσι μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας τὴν δύσιν κατέδραμον, οὔτε τῶν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀνταρκεσάντων αὐτοῖς βασιλέων οὔτε στρατηγικῆς συνέσεως ἢ χειρὸς στρατιωτικῆς ἄχρις Αἰμιλιανοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.

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81 Σάβορος sic ms., qui autem 30,27 habet Σαβόρας. Ecl. Hist. 288,22 legit μετὰ Σαβώρου, Cedr. 451,24 μετὰ Σαπώρου, Zon. II 581,20 Σαπώρου, nom. Σαπώρης (583,8), Glyk. 453,13 rursus scribit μετὰ Σαβώρου **90** γεγόνασι

Besides them, also Gordian had profited at cost to the empire. He had become caesar under Maximus, and had been appointed emperor later, after Maximus' death. Be that as it may, Maximus and Balbinus reigned twenty-two days, Gordian ruled the empire a full six years. Then he is killed by a certain Philip who prepared a secret conspiracy against him. Origenes lived long enough to see Gordian emperor.

43 Philip. The emperor Philip had ancestors who were well-known for their piety and his own daughter was honoured with the crown of the martyrs, if the martyr Eugenia means anything to anybody. Philip himself was something in between the extremes.
During his empire Persian power flourished. For the Persian king Sapor reigned over this people, a man of extreme length and as tall as king Saul. On him advanced Philip and in many battles they balanced each other. Thus Philip escaped the grip of the barbarian Persians, but a Roman called Decius killed him in the battlefield, though he bravely fought. He ruled the empire five years.

44 Decius. The emperor Decius was a notorious persecutor of the Christians and a very ingenious inventor of all sorts of evil. In this respect he functioned as an example for later emperors such as Diocletian and Maximian. He fell in the battlefield during his campaign against the Scythians. There are, however, people who say that while advancing on spongy, muddy ground, he and his horse slipped, became immersed and absolutely vanished. During his reign Clemens the author of the Stromata, the philosopher Africanus and presbyter Navatus became famous. The renowned Cyprian suffered martyrdom, the seven boys in Ephesus, who had taken refuge in a cave, fell asleep and great fame spread of the miracle-worker Gregorius. Decius's death came after two years of reign.

45 Gallus and Volusianus. They lived two years in office and they were killed by the soldiers because of their desperate stubbornness, which made them the cause of abjection and objection among the citizens. Under their emperorship a plague broke out which afflicted almost the whole world during a full fifteen years. It started in Ethiopia at the side of the rising sun to traverse also the west. The Scythians sailed across the Danube with their river boats and penetrated even as far as the Western part of Italy, and none of the Roman emperors nor strategic insight or bravery of the soldiers could stop them until the emperor Aemilian.

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73 ἡμέρας εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς δυσίν: cf. Ecl. Hist. 288,6, Glykas 453,12. **94** Ecl. Hist. 289,2 sqq.: *vide* et *comm.* **6** sqq.: cf. Ecl. Hist. 289,9 sqq., Zon. II 590,9 sqq. **9** sqq.: cf. Ecl. Hist. 289,14–15, *vide* et *comm.*

46 Αἰμιλιανός. Ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰμιλιανὸς οὐκ ἐσχεδίασε τὴν βασίλειον ἀρχὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Σκυθῶν ἐλάσας καὶ κατὰ κράτος τούτους
268r ἑλὼν (ἦγε δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς Λίβυας καὶ ⟨...lac. ind. fere 15 litt...⟩), οὕτω τῆς βασιλείας ἠξίωται. Καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς | τὰ πολέμια καὶ κρείττων τῶν ἐναντίων, ἥττων δὲ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων. Ἐπῆρτο γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ φρόνημα ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα δεινῶς κατωφρύωτο. Ἔνθεν τοι καὶ ἀπηχθάνοντο αὐτῷ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν φῦλον καὶ ἐμίσουν σφοδρῶς. Καὶ ὃν πολεμοῦντα ἐθαύμαζον, τοῦτον εὐτυχοῦντα διὰ τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀπεβδελύττοντο· ἀνῃρήκασι γοῦν ἐξαπιναίως αὐτῷ ἐπιθέμενοι μῆνας τέσσαρας βασιλεύσαντα.

47 Οὐαλλερῖνος καὶ Γαλλῖνος. Οὗτοι ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα ⟨καὶ⟩ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν βασιλείων συνανῃρέθησαν· ὡς δέ τινος ἐγὼ τῶν συγγραφέων ἤκουσα, Γαλλῖνος μὲν ὕστερον τελευτᾷ, Οὐαλλερῖνος δὲ ὁ πατὴρ Πέρσαις πόλεμον συμβαλὼν (Σαβόρας δὲ τότε ἦρχε τοῦ ἔθνους) καὶ ἡττηθεὶς δορυάλωτος γίνεται. Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο δεινόν, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ Πέρσαι δεινὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν εὗρον τὸν θάνατον καὶ ὥσπερ ἱερεῖον θύσαντες, εἶτα δή τι μέρος διατεμόντες τοῦ σώματος καὶ αὐλῶνι φυσήσαντες καὶ ὅλον πικρῶς ἀποδείραντες ἀσκὸν ἐκεῖθεν πεποίηνται. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν πεζῶν τὰ πολλὰ μαχομένων τὸ πρῶτον ἱππικὰ τάγματα Γαλλῖνος κατεσκευάσατο.

48 Κλαύδιος. Κλαυδίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ γένος ἐπίσημον καὶ ὁ τρόπος ἐπισημότερος. Πάππος δὲ οὗτος Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θείου [τοῦ] αὐτοκράτορος. Οὗτος μὲν γὰρ Κωνστάντιον γεννᾷ, Κωνστάντιος δὲ τὸν εὐσεβῆ Κωνσταντῖνον, ὃς 'μέγας' ἐπωνομάσθη διά τε τὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ πολλὰ κατορθώματα. Οὗτος ἀνοήτου τινὸς ἀπόφημά τινα κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ φθεγξαμένου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν δορυφόρων τὰ ξίφη ἐπὶ τὸν ὑβριστὴν ἐπανατειναμένων 'ἐπὶ τοὺς ὡπλισμένους' εἰρήκει 'ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς γυμνοὺς καὶ ἀόπλους'. Ἐπὶ τούτου τῶν Σκυθῶν οἱ γενναιότατοι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύσαντες ἔμελλον καὶ τὰς βίβλους αὐτῶν πυρὸς ἔργον ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλά τις τούτων δεινὸς τὸ φρόνημα διεκώλυσεν εἰρηκώς· 'ἄφετε τὰς βίβλους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἵνα σχολάζοντες ταύταις ἀμελῶσι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον'.

49 Αὐρηλιανός. Εἰώθει λέγειν Αὐρηλιανός, ὡς δεῖ τὸν βασιλέα πολλὰ μὲν ὄμματα ἔχειν, ὦτα δὲ πλείονα· μὴ γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖν δυσὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοσούτοις ὠσίν. Ἔνθεν τοι ἀπορρήτους εἶχεν ἐπόπτας τῶν κρυφῇ πραττομένων καὶ ἀκροατὰς τῶν ἐν παραβύστῳ λεγομένων. Τούτων εἷς ὑπονοηθεὶς ὑφέρπων τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ τῇ πίστει χρώμενος ἐξῶσται παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ καταπεφρόνητο. Ὁ δὲ πρὸς κακόνοιαν ἐξενεχθεὶς

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14 Αἰμιλιανοῦ : Ms. nomen huius imperatoris ubique spiritu cum aspero notat **16** Possis ... καὶ ⟨ἀπέκτεινε ἅπαντας⟩ compar. Zon. II 590,20 **25** καί[2] inserui **35** τοῦ[2] delevi **50** ὑφεόπων (εο in ligatura) **51** ἐξῶστε

46 Aemilian. The emperor Aemilian did not obtain the imperial rule by his own effort, but was esteemed worthy of the empire after his campaign against the Scythians, in which he forcefully defeated them (by leading Libyans and ⟨lacuna of ± 15 letters ...⟩ against them). He was a clever man in warfare and better than his adversaries, but he was not equal to his successes. He became haughty due to his achievements and he behaved very superciliously toward his subjects. Hence the soldiery was vexed and intensely hated him. Thus, the one whom they admired at war, the same did they abhor because of his boastfulness after success. Suddenly they rushed upon him and killed him. He ruled four months.

47 Valeri(a)n and Galli(e)nus. These men lived fifteen years in the office and were killed together in the palace. From one of the authors I have understood, however, that Gallienus died later, and that his father Valerian, waging war against the Persians (at that time Sapor was king of that people) and being defeated, was made prisoner. Not that was the evil thing, but that the Persians thought of an evil manner to kill him: they offered him as a sacrifice, next they had a part of his body cut off, had him blown up with a pipe, totally skinned and finally made into a bag. Gallienus was the first to transform infantry-troops, the common form for fighting troops, into squadrons of cavalry.

48 Claudius. The emperor Claudius sprang from a noble family. His character was even more noble. He was the grandfather of the divine emperor Constantine. For he begot Constantius, and Constantius the pious Constantine, who was surnamed 'the Great' because of his reverence towards the Divinity and because of his many important achievements. Once, when a fool shouted some abusive words in his direction and his guardsmen already had drawn their swords to kill the insolent man, Claudius said: "thus against the armed, not against the naked and unarmed".
During his reign the most brave troops of the Scythians penetrated as far as Athens. As they were about to throw the books of the Athenians into the fire, one very shrewd fellow-soldier stopped them, saying: "let the Athenians have their books: being busy with books, they will be careless about war!"

49 Aurelian. Aurelian used to say that an emperor had need of many eyes, but of ears even more: two eyes and an equal number of ears did not suffice. Hence he had his secret spies upon clandestine deeds and his stealthy listeners to hole-and-cornertalk. One of them, suspected of conspiring against the emperor and of abusing his confidence to an evil purpose, was sent away and held in contempt. This man, however, inspired to greater malice, whispered

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16 ἦγε δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Λίβυας: cf. Ecl. Hist. 289,22 ἔχων καὶ Λιβυκὸν στρατόν **18** ἐπῆρτο ... τὸ φρόνημια ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι: cf. Ecl. Hist. 289,23 ἐπήρθη τῇ εὐτυχίᾳ. **24** *vide comm.* **31** *vide comm.* **44–45** cf. Ecl. Hist. 290,3–7, Cedr. I 454,12–17. **49–53** cf. Cedr. I 455,3–8 ≊ Ecl. Hist. 290,18–22, *vide comm.* ad § 49.

πλείονα πρὸς τὸ οὖς ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἐν τέλει ὑπεψιθύριζεν, ὡς μέλλοιεν ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως φθαρήσεσθαι. Οἱ δὲ δείσαντες ἐπιπίπτουσι τούτῳ ἐξαπιναίως καὶ ἀποκτιννύουσιν οὐδὲν ἀπονάμενον οὔτε τῶν πολλῶν ὀφθαλμῶν οὔτε τῶν ἀκοῶν. Δεῖ μὲν γὰρ χρῆσθαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πολλοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ πολλαῖς ἀκοαῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπιβούλοις καὶ κακοήθεσι, ἀλλ' εὐνοϊκοῖς καὶ δικαίοις.

50 Κιντίλιος. Κιντιλίῳ βραχὺς μὲν ὁ τῆς ἡλικίας χρόνος (ἡμέραι γὰρ εὐαρίθμητοι), αἱ δὲ πράξεις πολλαί. Τῆς [ἐξ] αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ δημοσίοις ὡμίλει πράγμασι καὶ στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων ἐφρόντιζε καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει ἐκήδετο. Καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν τῶν συνεισενεγκεῖν τῇ ἀρχῇ δυναμένων λυσιτέλειαν ἔλεγέ τε καὶ ἔπραττε. Τοῦτο δὲ πολλάκις δημοσίᾳ εἰώθει φθέγγεσθαι, ὅτι 'οὐ τὸν στρατιώτην δεῖ μόνον ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ τὴν ἀσπίδα μετενεγκεῖν δύνασθαι, ὅ φησιν Ὅμηρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐπιδέξιόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἐπαρίστερον καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς προτείνειν τὴν δεξιάν, τῶν δὲ πονηρῶν τῇ εὐωνύμῳ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι'. Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποστάσεως καὶ ἐπαναστάσεως ἐπ' αὐτὸν γενομένης γενναίως πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαναστάντας ἀντεπηνέχθη· ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείους εἶδεν ἢ ὥστε ἀπολέσασθαι τούτους, δεδιώς, ἵνα μὴ ἁλώσιμος αὐτοῖς γένηται, 'δεῖν' ἔφη 'τὸν βασιλέα ἑαυτὸν ὑπεξαγαγεῖν τοῦ βίου ἢ ἑτέρους ἐᾶν τοῦτο ποιεῖν', καὶ τὴν φλέβα τεμὼν εἶτα μὴ ἐπισχὼν τελευτᾷ.

51 Τάκιτος. Ἐδυστύχησε περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς Τάκιτος οὐκ αὐτὸς αἰτίαν τοῦ δυστυχήματος παρασχών, ἀλλὰ τύχης, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, γέγονε παρανάλωμα. Τὸ γὰρ συγγενὲς εὐνοϊκώτερον τοῦ ὀθνείου ἡγούμενος τοὺς κατὰ αἷμα τούτῳ προσήκοντας ταῖς τῶν ἡγεμονιῶν ἐπιμελείαις ἐπέστησεν· ἢ γὰρ οἰκείοις τὸν βασιλέα ἔλεγεν ὄμμασι δεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστασίαις τῶν πραγμάτων χρῆσθαι ἢ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀλλοτρίοις, ἀλλὰ συγγενικοῖς. Ἀλλά τις τῶν τούτου συγγενῶν τὴν τῶν Ἀσυρίων ἀρχὴν πιστευθεὶς πονηρῶς τούτους ἐλῄστευε καὶ ἀπηνέστερον προσεφέρετο. Οἱ δὲ δυσχεράναντες τὴν τούτου ἐπάχθειαν ἀνηλεῶς ἀποσφάττουσιν, εἶτα δείσαντες, μὴ ἀγανακτήσας ἀνέλοι τούτους ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐπιβουλὴν κατὰ τούτου ἀρτύουσι καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ τυχόντες ἀποκτιννύουσιν ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἔτεσι κατασχόντα τὴν βασιλείαν.

52 Πρόβος καὶ Φλωριανός. Ἀδελφὼ μὲν ἤστην, οὐχ ὁμοτρόπω δέ. Ὁ γάρ τοι Πρόβος δυσχεραίνων τὸ μετὰ Φλωριανοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἰθύνειν καὶ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐξόχως ἐρῶν ὑποκρίνεται τὸν μεμηνότα καί ποτε ξίφος γυμνὸν τῇ χειρὶ λαβὼν ἐπεισπίπτει τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἀποκτιννύει. Καὶ εὐθὺς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἀποβάλλεται καὶ βασιλικὸν ἐπιδείκνυται φρόνημα.

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52 μέλοιον **53** δύσαντες cf. Zon. II 608,1 δείσαντες, Cedr. I 455,8 φοβηθέντες, *id.* Anon. Sath. 39, 15 **59** ἐξ delevi , *vide comm.* **67** γενομένης ms. post corr. e γενομένοις **78** Ἀσυρίων. Idem habet nomen Ecl. Hist. 290,28 ἐπέστησε τῇ Ἀσυρίᾳ , Cedr. I 463,8 *idem*. Verisimilius Συρίων cf. Zos. I 63,4, Zon. II 608,15 **79** τούτοις

into the ear of every important person, that they would all be destroyed by the emperor. They became frightened, suddenly attacked the emperor and slew him; of what use were his many eyes and ears then? True, an emperor should make use of many eyes and ears, but only honest and just ones, and not treacherous or malicious ones.

50 Quintilius (*i. e.* Quintillus). For Quintilius, life was short — his days (in office) can easily be numbered — but his deeds were many. On one and the same day he attended to public affairs, saw to the enlistment of soldiers and busied himself with the magistrates. Whatever might contribute to the prosperity of the state was said or done by him. More than once he said in public: "not only the common soldier has to be able to handle his shield at the right as well as at the left side, to quote Homer, but an emperor must be more than apt for right and left, in order to indicate with his right hand the right way to righteous people and to prevent with his left the evil ones". Confronted with a rebellion and uproar against him, this emperor bravely advanced toward the mob. Seeing, however, more people than he could possibly destroy, he began to fear that he should be caught himself. With the words "it is better for an emperor to take his own life than to let others take it" he opened his vein and died without delay.

51 Tacitus. The emperor Tacitus was unfortunate in his office, not being himself the cause of his misfortune, but being, so to speak, fortune's toy. For, relying more upon a relative's loyalty than a bastard's, he trusted his relatives with the responsibility for high commands. It was his saying that the emperor should use his own eyes to control the conduct of affairs and certainly not those of others, unless of relatives. One of his relatives, however, whom he trusted with the administration of the Assyrians, bled them white and treated them cruelly. They reacted in disgust at his intolerable behaviour and butchered him without mercy. Afterwards, afraid that the emperor would be vexed with them and would have them executed, they plotted against him. Attaining their end they murdered him after he had been in office for two years.

52 Probus and Florianus. Two brothers, opposite characters! Probus felt annoyance at having to share the empire with Florianus, and, passionately desiring to rule alone he began to play the fool. One day he took a naked sword in his hand, dashed upon his brother and slew him. He immediately stopped his pretence and showed an imperial disposition. To those who

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64 cf. Hom. H 328 **70** ἑαυτὸν ὑπεξαγαγεῖν: = Zos. I 47,2, *vide comm.*, cf. Ecl. Hist. 290,12 = Cedr. I 454,21 **71** cf. Zos. I 47,3, Ecl. Hist. 290,13–14 ≂ Cedr. I 454,21–22. **78–83** cf. Zos. I 63,4 sqq., Ecl. Hist. 290,27–30 ≈ Cedr. I 463,7–10. Cf. et Zon. II 608,15–19. **86** ὑποκρίνεται τὸν μεμηνότα: cf. Ecl. Hist. 291,2 παράφρονα ἑαυτὸν ποιήσας = Cedr. I 463,12 ≂ Glyk. 456,8.

Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν μῖσος 'ἐγώ' φησιν 'καὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἡδέως ἂν ἐξορύξαιμι, εἰ ἐμποδὼν ὁρῴην τῷ εὐωνύμῳ'. Ἐπὶ τούτου σῖτον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ὕδατι βεβρεγμένον ὑετίζει θεός. Περιττὸς δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην φαινόμενος ἀναιρεῖ τοὺς Τάκιτον καὶ Αὐρηλιανὸν ἀποκτείναντας. Ἔνιοι δὲ τούτων λαθόντες διέφυγον, εἶτα δείσαντες, μὴ ἁλώσιμοι γένοιντο, ἀνηρήκασι τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντα ἔτη δύο καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας.

53 Μάρος, Καρῖνος καὶ Νουμεριανός. ⟨Μ⟩άρος πατὴρ παίδων δυεῖν, Καρίνου καὶ Νουμεριανοῦ, οὓς ἅμα τῷ κρατῆσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς βασιλέας πεποίηκεν. Οὗτος ἐπὶ Περσίδα στρατεύσας τὴν Κτησιφῶντος πόλιν εἷλε πολιορκήσας. Τούτου δὲ μετὰ βραχὺ τελευτήσαντος | 268v καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Νουμεριανοῦ ὑπὸ ῥεύματος τὰς ὄψεις ἀφαιρεθέντος, ὁ Καρῖνος τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεται, γενναῖος ἀνὴρ καὶ τρυφᾶν μὴ εἰδώς, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐχμηρὸς καὶ ἀθώπευτος τὴν ψυχήν. Οὗτος ἐπὶ Ἀρσάκην ἐστράτευσε τὸν Ἀρμένιον καὶ πρεσβείας ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης χρηματίζων τοῖς πρέσβευσι λόγον μὲν οὐ μακρὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰρήκει, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀπογυμνώσας (ἦν δὲ ψιλότατος) τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἀπεκρίνατο, ὡς 'οὐδὲν ἧττον τῆς ⟨ἐμ⟩ῆς κεφαλῆς ψιλοτέραν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀρσάκου ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐνοικούντων ποιήσομαι'.

54 ⟨Δ⟩ιοκλητιανός. Τῷ βασιλεῖ Διοκλητιανῷ ἦν μὲν καὶ στάσιμον φρόνημα καὶ χεὶρ στρατιωτικὴ καὶ γενναία καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα τῶν ἐπαινετῶν, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀσέβεια καὶ ὁ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν διωγμὸς πάντα αὐτῷ ἐπεκάλυψε. Τοσοῦτον δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ περιὸν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς κακοηθείας καὶ πονηρίας, ὡς ἐπειδὴ μὴ δεδύνητο μεταβαλεῖν τούτους τοῦ γενναίου φρονήματος, μανεὶς ἀποτίθεται τὴν ἀρχήν. Τέως δὲ μὴ ἐξαρκῶν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς πράγμασι κοινωνὸν ποιεῖται τῆς ἀρχῆς Μαξιμιανὸν τὸν Ἑρκούλιον, γαμβρόν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλον τυγχάνοντα. Εἶτα δὴ ἑκάτερος τούτων ἐπὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις θυγατράσι κηδεστὰς ἑτέρους ποιοῦνται, καὶ Διοκλητιανὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ παιδὶ Βαλλερίᾳ Γαλλέριον, Μαξιμιανὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ Θεοδώρᾳ Κωνστάντιον. Καὶ Γαλλέριος μὲν νικήσας Πέρσας ἀριστείων ἠξιώθη στεφάνων, Κωνστάντιος δὲ ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν ἐγκρατὴς γεγονὼς τροπαιοφόρος ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνέζευξεν. Ἦν δὲ οὗτος τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου πατὴρ οὐκ ἐκ Θεοδώρας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς θαυμασίας Ἑλένης τοῦτον ἀποτεκών, ὃν δὴ καὶ τελευτῶν ἀναδείκνυσι βασιλέα ἧττον τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ παίδων πεφροντικώς.

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91 τούτω **1** Μάρος[1] sic ms., litera Μ minio scripta. Μάρος[2] : deest M. Nomen imperatoris est autem Carus. Confusionem huius nominis extitisse probat Anon. Sath. 40,6, qui scribit Σάρος **9** πρέσβευσι sic ms.: eundem accentum habet ms. ad 30, 13, necnon Psell. *Const. VIII*, VI 6; in *Is. Comn.* XLVI 8 autem πρέσβεσι. Vide et Renauld *Et.* 7. **14** ἄλλ' ἄττα : ἀλλάττα. Renauld *Et.* 21 eandem autem indicat expressionem stylo ἄττα positione enclitica usitato : ἄλλαττα B.G. IV 445,31 **15** ἀπεκάλυψε : correxit Kambylis

blamed him for hating his brother he replied: "I should gladly have my right eye put out, if I saw it to be a hindrance to my left eye".
During this reign God let it rain water-soaked bread from heaven. He showed remarkable justice by executing the murderers of Tacitus and Aurelian. But some of them escaped unnoticed, and afraid of being caught, they killed him. He reigned two years and four months.

53 Marus (sic! *i. e.* Carus), Carinus and Numerianus.
Marus was the father of two sons, Carinus and Numerianus, whom he made (co)emperors at the moment that he took possession of the empire. He waged war against Persia and took the town Ctesiphon by siege. Shortly thereafter he died and one of the brothers, Numerianus, lost his sight as a consequence of flux. Thus Carinus took in hand the full power. He was a noble man who did not know any extravagance, but kept his face emotionless and his soul closed to flattery. While leading his troops against the Armenian Arsaces, he was approached by a delegation from the enemy. Giving audience to them he said very little, but bared his head (being, indeed, very bald) and formulated this answer: "I'll make king Arsaces' realm no less bare of inhabitants than my head is bald".

54 Diocletian. The emperor Diocletian had a steadfast character, the hand of a brave soldier and other laudable qualities, but this was all neutralised by his godlessness and persecution of the Christians. His malignancy and wickedness towards them were so excessive, that when he could not lead them astray, he became crack-brained and laid down his task. Being no match for imperial affairs he shared his power with Maximian Herculius, his son-in-law and friend. Each of them established a new connection by marrying off his own daughter: Diocletian his daughter Valeria to Gallerius, Maximian his Theodora to Constantius. Gallerius vanquished the Persians and received the honorary crown, Constantius subdued other peoples and marched in triumph to Rome. This Constantius was the father of Constantine the Great, not begetting him from Theodora, but from the admirable Helena. At his death he appointed this son emperor, being less concerned about his other sons.

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91 *vide comm.* **92** ἀναιρεῖ – ἀποκτείναντας: cf. = Ecl. Hist. 291,17 = Cedr. I 464,3–4. *Vide* et *comm.* **3** cf. Ecl. Hist. 291,23 = Cedr. I 464,6. Cf. et Sync. I 724,13–14 et Zon. II 610,23. **4–6** cf. Ecl. Hist. 291,25–26 = Cedr. I 464,9–11 (*vide comm.*); cf. et Sync. I 724,17 sqq. **16–18** *vide comm.* **18–20** cf. Ecl. Hist. 292,1–3 ≂ Cedr. I 464,15–16. **20–23** cf. Ecl. Hist. 292,5–9, et illic Βαλλερία duplicata littera λ; Cedr. I 469,20–470,2, Chron. Pasch. I 516,11–15, Theoph. 7,1–6, cf. Eutrop. IX 22 et iterum Theoph. 11,1–4 (= Hier. Chron.), ubi mss. acgy scribunt Βαλλερίᾳ. Vide et Zon. II 614,24–615,8: κηδεστάς, Βαλλερίαν et Anon. Sath. 41,1–8. **26–28** cf. Zon. II 623,1-2

55 Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ μέγας. Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ μέγας καὶ τῷ κατὰ πάθος κράτει καὶ τῷ τῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων μεγέθει. Ἐν Ῥώμῃ μὲν ὑπὸ Σιλβέστρου βαπτίζεται, πόλεμον δὲ εὐθὺς κατὰ Σκυθῶν κινήσας νενίκηκεν. Εἶτα κατὰ Λικινίου τοῦ γαμβροῦ στρατεύσας ἀποστασίαν ἤδη ὠδίναντος κατ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐτρέψατο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δορυάλωτον εἷλεν ὁπηνίκα καὶ σταυροειδὲς σχῆμα κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐν οὐρανῷ αὐτῷ τεθέαται ἄστροις ἐξεικονισμένον λαμπροῖς. Οὗτος τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ἐξεληλυθὼς κατὰ θείους χρησμοὺς τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ πόλιν ἱδρύσατο. Σύνοδος πρώτη. Σύν⟨οδ⟩ον δὲ πρώτην ἐν Νικαίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς Ἀρείου κροτήσας ἐξελαύνει τῆς ἐκκλησίας κτίσμα τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ υἱὸν ἔκ τινων παρακουσμάτων ἑλληνικῶν φλυαρήσαντος. Πολλοὺς δὲ πολέμους κατὰ Περσῶν ποιησάμενος ἐν διηριθμημένοις καιροῖς τὴν τούτων παύει θρασύτητα. Τοῖς δὲ τρισὶν αὐτοῦ παισὶ τὴν σύμπασαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων διεμέρισεν ἐξουσίαν, τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ, Κωνσταντίνῳ, τὰς ἄνω Γαλλίας καὶ ἕως τοῦ ἑσπερίου ὠκεανοῦ κληροδοτήσας, τῷ δὲ ὑστάτῳ, Κώνσταντι, τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀπονειμάμενος, τῷ δέ γε Κωνσταντίῳ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἅπασαν καὶ αὐτὴν δὴ τὴν μεγαλόπολιν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἐξῳκοδόμησεν. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κωνσταντῖνος ἐπαναστὰς τῇ μερίδι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Κώνσταντος πίπτει μαχόμενος. Εἶτα δὴ καὶ ὁ Κώνστας ὑπὸ Μαγνεντίου ἀπόλλυται καὶ τῆς συμπάσης ἀρχῆς αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ Κωνστάντιος ἀποδείκνυται. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν υἱέων τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου ταῦτα. Ὁ δέ γε θεῖος Κωνσταντῖνος οὕτως ἦν μισοπόνηρος, ὡς πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου βήματος ἀποφθέγγεσθαι μὴ δεῖν φείδεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων καταστάσεως μηδενὸς τῶν πάντων, ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων μελῶν. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πονηρευσαμένους εἶτα μεταβαλλομένους φιλανθρωπευόμενος εἰώθει λέγειν, ὅτι 'τὸ νοσοῦν μέλος ἀποκοπτέον τῷ ἀρρωστοῦντι, οὐ μὴν τὸ ὑγιείας τετυχηκός'. Ἔζησε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἔτη πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἑξήκοντα, ἐβασίλευσε δὲ τρία πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα.

56 Κωνστάντιον τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν. Ἦν δὲ οὗτος τὰ μὲν περὶ πολέμους δραστήριος καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς στάσιμος, ἀμφίβολος δὲ τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Ἐπεπόνθει δὲ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ψυχῆς κακοήθειαν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀμαθίαν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς δογμάτων καὶ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς πίστεως. Ἔνθεν τοι ὁ Νικομηδείας Εὐσέβιος ἀρειανίζειν ἔστιν οὗ τοῦτον ἀνέπειθε καὶ τὴν λέξιν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου ὡς ἄγραφον ἐκβαλεῖν. Τούτῳ δὴ τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ ἐξανέψιοι ἐγεγόνεισαν Γάλλος καὶ

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33 εἶλας **37** Σύνοδος, Σ minio scriptum Σύνοδον, Σ in margine minio scriptum; Σύν⟨οδ⟩ον post corr.: primo scriba σύνον mutavit in σύνοδ, postea litteras ον suprascripsit miniator. **40** διηριθμημένοις : litterae ηρι male discerni possunt. **41** σύμπασαν τῶν : σύμπασαν κατὰ Περσῶν ποιησάμενος τῶν : verba κ.Π.π. e priore linea repetita delevi **55** ὑγείας τετυχηκώς **62** Εὐσέβιος sic, ut videtur, post corr. ex εὐσέβειος aut εὐσεβείας **64** ἓξ ἀνεψιοὶ

55 Constantine the Great. Constantine 'the Great', both because of his strength in suffering and because of the importance of his achievements. No sooner is he baptised by Silvester than he advances on the Scythians and vanquishes them. Next, he had to advance on his son-in-law Licinius who was brooding on defection. Not only did he defeat him but he also made him prisoner in the same battle during which he had seen the shape of a cross in the southern sky, formed by gleaming stars. He left ancient Rome urged by divine oracles and founded the city which bears his name.
First Synod. He convened the first synod in Nicea against the godless Arius, and had him driven out of the church because he nonsensically pretended, on the base of some Greek equivocations, that the son of God was a creature.
He waged many wars against the Persians and put an end to their audacity on a series of occasions. He divided the whole power of the Romans among his three sons: the first, Constantinus received the distant provinces of Gaul up to the western ocean as his share; to the youngest, Constans, he assigned Italy and the city of Rome; to Constantius he gave the whole eastern part, including the great city which he himself had founded.
Constantinus however contested the position of his brother Constans, but fell in the fight. Next, Constans is destroyed by Magnentius, and Constantinus is appointed emperor of the whole empire. This much about the sons of Constantine the Great.
The divine Constantine himself harboured such a hatred of villainy, that he often expressed, speaking from his imperial tribune, his feelings in the following way: "an emperor should not spare a single citizen where public affairs are concerned, and certainly not the members of his own family".
As to villains who were disposed to mend their ways, he would say benevolently that the affected part of an ill person had to be amputated, not the recovered one. This emperor lived sixty-five years of which he reigned thirty-three.

56 Of Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, mention has already been made in my story when the subject came up. He, too, was energetic in warfare and steadfast in dangerous situations, but hesitant in religious matters. This fault was less a consequence of an evil nature than of ignorance of our dogmas and the true faith. This explains why Eusebius (bishop) of Nicomedea was able to persuade him to subscribe to Arianism and to delete the word 'homoousios' [*i. e.* consubstantional] as spurious.
This Constantius had two cousins, Gallus and Julianus. Gallus adhered to

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30 Ἐν Ῥώμῃ ... βαπτίζεται: cf. Theoph. 17,25, cf. 33,21, Ecl. Hist. 294,3–4 **34–35** *vide comm.* ἄστροις ἐξεικονισμένον λαμπροῖς: cf. Zon. III 3,4–7 τύπος ... σταυρικός μεσούσης ἡμέρας δι' ἀστέρος ἐφάνη ... δι 'ἀστέρων ... **35–36** cf. Theoph. 23,22–27, Zon. III 13,14/15 – 14,8. **37–39** *vide comm.* **41–46** *vide comm.* **50–55** ~ Zon. III 25,16 – 26,6. **59–60** *vide comm.* **62–64** ≊ Ecl. Hist. 298,27–29, *vide comm.*

Ἰουλιανός. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Γάλλος εὐσεβὴς τὴν τοῦ θείου δόξαν, ἕτοιμος δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν ὄψιν χαρίεις, ὁ δέ γε Ἰουλιανὸς συννεφὴς ἀεὶ καὶ σκυθρωπάζοντι ἐοικὼς καὶ ἑλληνίζων ἄντικρυς. Ὅθεν ὁ Κωνστάντιος ἔχαιρέ τε τῷ Γάλλῳ καὶ προχειρισάμενος καίσαρα πιστεύει τὴν πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἀρχήν. Εἶτα δὴ ἀναιρεῖ χεῖρας πολεμίας τῷ πεπιστευκότι ἀντάραντα. Ἀλλ' αὖθις τὸν ἀδελφὸν Γάλλου Ἰουλιανὸν καίσαρά τε ἐπονομάζει καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἑσπερίων ἐκπέμπει βαρβάρων. Αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ Περσῶν τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἔξεισι καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τοῦ Ταύρου γενόμενος νοσήσας ἀθρόον τὴν ζωὴν μεταλλάττει ἔτη βεβασιλευκὼς τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι. Πρὸ ὀλίγου δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς ἀκούσας ὡς Ἰουλιανὸς τυραννικώτερον τῶν πραγμάτων ἅπτεται, τοσοῦτον εἰρήκει, ὅτι 'τὰ ὕπουλα τῶν ὑποιδημάτων οὐκ ἄλλως τέμνεται, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐξανθήσει'. Ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς Κωνσταντίνου περιόντος τῷ βίῳ αὐτὸς ἐν Περσίδι ὢν καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἤδη συμμίξας ἐκ μέσου τοῦ πολέμου ἀναχωρεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἐκθύμως χωρεῖ τὸν πατέρα τελευτῶντα μεμαθηκώς. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπέχοντας ἀπεφθέγξατο· 'οὐ θαυμαστόν, εἰ κρείττων μοι ὁ πατὴρ τῶν Περσῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτους μὲν αὖθις ἴσως ἐπαναζεύξω, ἐκεῖνον δὲ τεθνηκότα οὐκέτι θεάσομαι'.

269r **57** Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ παραβάτης. | Ἄκανθα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουλιανὸς τῷ εὐώδει ῥόδῳ τῷ εὐσεβεῖ γένει Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πάνυ παραφυεῖσα. Ἦν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν βραχύς, τὴν δὲ εὐφυΐαν πολύς, σεσοβημένος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ὕβριν πνέων καὶ περιφρόνησιν, σκυθρωπὸς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ φιλοσόφοις προσκείμενος, σοφίας παντοδαποῦς ἐραστὴς καὶ μάλιστα τῆς περιττοτέρας. Ἔνθεν τοι ὀρνέων πτήσεις καὶ καθέδρας περιειργάζετο καὶ τέχνην εἶχε περὶ τὰ σφαττόμενα τῶν ἱερείων, ὅπως πίπτοιεν, ὅπως τοὺς πόδας ἀπολακτίζοιεν, ὁποῖος αὐτοῖς τοῦ αἵματος ὁ κρουνός. Ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ πρόγνωσιν ἔχειν τοῦ μέλλοντος ᾤετο. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα πολλὰ τῶν ἀτόπων κατὰ τοῦ θείου Κωνσταντίνου ἐφθέγγετο, εἶθ' ὕστερον πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπεσεμνύνετο λέγων δεῖν ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ καὶ τοῦ μέλιτος γεύεσθαι. Τὸν δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν βασιλεύσοντα ἔκ τινος μαντεύματος διαγνοὺς (ἦν δὲ ὁ εὐσεβὴς Ἰοβιανός) τοσοῦτον εἰρήκει· 'αἴθε κ' ἂν ἄνθρωπος'. Ἐγκρατὴς δὲ περὶ τὰ φυσικὰ ταῦτα γενόμενος, ἐρυγάς φημι καὶ τὰς διὰ στόματος ἐκκρίσεις καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἔλεγε δεῖν τὸν φιλόσοφον εἰ δυνατὸν μηδὲ ἀναπνεῖν, ἀπλήστως δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν ἐχόμενος καὶ τοῖς βιβλίοις ὅσαι ὧραι προσκείμενος ᾔτει παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων θεῶν μήτε ὕπνῳ δαμάζεσθαι μήτε λιχνεύεσθαι περὶ τὰς τρυφάς, ἀλλὰ σύντονον αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδιάκοπον

76 ὑποδημάτων **85** εὐσεβεῖ post corr. ex ἀσεβεῖ Κωνσταντίνω **89** πτώσεις : correxi compar. Georg. Mon. 542,22 qui excerp. Greg. Naz. *Or. IV in Julian.* I §§ 107–109 ex Anastas. Sin. *Quaest.* 65 (PG 89, 680 C)

the orthodox faith, had a good intellect and a pleasant appearance, Julianus always looked dreary, showed a sad countenance and was a thoroughgoing pagan. Hence Constantius was very pleased with Gallus, and he appointed him caesar and trusted him with the rule of the western part. Later he was forced to kill him because he raised hostile hands against the one who had trusted him. Now he nominated Gallus' brother Julianus as caesar, and sent him against the western barbarians. He himself left Byzantium for a campaign against the Persians, but at the foot of the Taurus he suddenly fell ill and lost his life after twenty-four years of reign.
When shortly before his death he heard that Julianus tackled the affairs in a too tyrannical way, he said this: "Impossible to incise internal ulcers: you have to wait until they have ripened and have broken through the surface". Once when he was campaigning in Persia — his father was still alive then — and had even already come to blows with the barbarians, he suddenly left the battle and hastened off to Constantinople because he had heard his father was dying. To those who tried to stop him he said: "do not be surprised: my father is more important to me than the Persians; on them I will perhaps advance again, but him I cannot see any more, when he is dead".

57 Julian the Apostate. The emperor Julian was the thorn in the side of the sweet-smelling rose such as was the pious family of the famous Constantine. His stature was short, but very well shaped. He had a restless glance in his eye, he breathed brutality and contempt, he was mostly sullen and much devoted to (pagan) philosophers, being interested in all sorts of knowledge and especially the eccentric. Hence he was curious after the flights and landings of birds, cast an expert look at falling victims: how they kicked out their legs, how their blood squirted out at the moment of slaughter. This was a method, in his opinion, to get a prognosis of the future. In the beginning he made abundant pejorative pronouncements at the address of the pious Constantine. Later he assumed a more worthy attitude, saying: "the best taste of honey is from the tip of a finger". Having heard from an oracle who his successor would be (this was the pious Jovianus) he did not say more than: "if only human!" He cultivated a great discipline as to those natural activities as e. g. eructations, spitting and so on and he used to say that a philosopher should, if possible, not even breathe, and, being insatiably concerned about his pupils and constantly busy with his books he even begged his own gods to set him free from the compulsion of sleep and greedy desire for luxuries and to make his love for knowledge intense and uninterrupted.

85—89 *vide comm.* **94—95** cf. Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum, (ed. Leutsch-Schneidewin) I 24: ἄκρῳ ἅψασθαι τῷ δακτύλῳ: ἐπὶ τῶν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἠσκημένων · οἷον· οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἄκρῳ τῷ δακτύλῳ ἁψάμενος. **1** αἴθε κ'ἂν ἄνθρωπος: cf. Zon. III 72,14, *vide comm.* **1—4** ἐγκρατὴς ... ἀναπνεῖν: ~ Zon. III 69,2—5. *Vide comm.*

τὸν ἔρωτα γενέσθαι τῆς γνώσεως. Κατὰ Περσῶν δὲ στρατεύσας ἐθαύμασε μὲν πρῶτα τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν ἰδών, εἶτ' ἀπῆρε ταχύ, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας εἶδε τοῦ πώγωνος τοῦτον μισήσαντας. Πέρσαις δὲ προσβαλὼν κατώρθωσε μέντοι, εἶτα δείσας περὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναζεύγνυσι· Περσῶν δέ τινες κατὰ νώτου τούτῳ γενόμενοι θόρυβόν τε τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι βάλλουσι καὶ μονωθέντα τοῦτον ἰδόντες ἀναιροῦσιν ἔτη δύο τὴν βασίλειον κατασχόντα ἀρχήν.

58 Ἰοβιανός. Πεσόντος Ἰουλιανοῦ ἐν Περσίδι Ἰοβιανὸς ἀναγορεύεται βασιλεὺς εὐσεβείας τε ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ ἐπιεικὴς εἶναι. Οὐκ ἐπέδραμε δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐβιάσθη· ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ ὅτου ἕνεκα οὐκ ἐρῴη τῆς βασιλείας 'ὅτι μὴ Ἑλλήνων βασιλεύειν ἐθέλοι' ἔφησεν 'ἀλλὰ Χριστιανῶν, καὶ βούλοιτο δυεῖν ἄρχειν εὐσεβῶν ἢ ἀσεβῶν πολλῶν μυριάδων' (τοὺς δέ γε πολίτας σύμπαντας καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν γένος πλὴν ὀλίγων Ἰουλιανὸς μετήνεγκεν ἀπὸ Χριστιανισμοῦ εἰς Ἑλληνισμόν). Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἰρήκει, τὸ πλῆθος ἅπαν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἀνεβόησαν· 'Χριστιανοί ἐσμεν ἅπαντες καὶ τῇ σῇ γνώμῃ ἕτοιμοι πείθεσθαι'. Ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰοβιανὸς τὸ διάδημα περιτίθεται καὶ βουλῆς προτεθείσης, εἴτε δεῖ πολεμεῖν Πέρσαις εἴτε ἀπαίρειν, εὐθὺς τὸ δεύτερον σύμπαντες ἐψηφίσαντο. Ἐδεδίεσαν γὰρ ἐπικειμένους τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ ἤδη κρατήσαντας. Σπονδὰς οὖν αἰσχίστας πρὸς αὐτοὺς τιθέντες παραχωροῦσι τούτοις πολλῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων ὑποφόρων τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων, εἰρηκότες, ὡς, οὗ πλείων ὁ κίνδυνος, ὁμόσε χωρεῖν καὶ ὠθίζεσθαι θρασύτητος, τὸ δὲ ὑποχωρεῖν ἀσφαλείας, τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τολμητέοις θαρρεῖν θάρσους. Ἀναζευγνύουσι γοῦν ἐκ Περσίδος ἐν μέσοις ἑαυτοῖς τὸν βασιλέα δορυφοροῦντες. Ὁ δὲ καὶ δὴ προῄει λαμπρῶς. Ἔξεισι δὲ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡ γυνὴ μετὰ τοῦ *** καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ὑπαντήσουσα τούτῳ κατὰ μέσην ὁδὸν προπομπὴν ποιησαμένη βασίλειον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔφθη τοῦτον ἰδοῦσα. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ ἐγένετο (πόλις δὲ αὕτη Γαλατική) ἀμανίτην τῶν ἄρτι φυομένων φαγὼν (ἦν δὲ τὴν δίαιταν εὐτελής) εὐθὺς ἀποθνήσκει οὔτε δι' ἀπληστίαν τοῦ βρώματος, ἀλλ' ἦν ἄρα ὁ μύκης πεφαρμαγμένος. Καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ θανάτῳ συγκαταλύει καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, βασιλεύσας ἔτος ἓν καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ.

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30 ἀναζεύγνυσι . Contextus exigit verbum plurale. Temporibus Pselli pluralia verborum in -νυμι in tertia persona praesentis activi formas novas in -ύουσι formis classicis in -ύασι praeferunt, ut videtur (cf. Renauld *Et.* 65 sqq.) **32** μετὰ τοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδός. Possis aut μετὰ [τοῦ] καὶ τοῦ παιδός, aut (ἡ γυνὴ) αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦ παιδός, cf. Zon. III 71,15—18 καὶ οὐδὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἔφθη τοῦτον θεάσασθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ... προελθοῦσα ... σὺν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτῆς Βαρωνιανῷ. **35** Γαλακτική : correxi compar. Zon. III 71,12 εἰς Ἄγκυραν τῆς Γαλατίας, cf. et Ecl. Hist. 301,3, Anon. Sath. 57,23 etc.

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9 Πέρσαις ... μέντοι: cf. Zon. III 65,10 Στρατεύσας δὲ κατὰ Περσῶν πρότερον μὲν εὐτύχησε ... **10** εἶτα δείσας περὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν: cf. Zon. III 65,12—13 εἶτ' ἀθρόον τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ χεῖρον περιτραπέντων ... **11—12** Περσῶν ... βάλλουσι: cf.

Campaigning against the Persians he came near Antioch which he at first saw with great admiration; after that he soon went away, when he saw the hatred of the Antiochians because of his beard. His attack on the Persians proved, however, to be successful at first, but later on he began to fear for his power and retreated. A number of Persians succeeded in following him. They confused the rear-guard and seeing that he got separated from the others they killed him after his ruling the empire during two years.

58 Jovianus. Julian having been killed in Persia, Jovianus is appointed emperor because of his piety and fairness. He did not aspire to the throne himself, but he was forced to it by the soldiers. To the question why he did not cherish that aspiration, he answered 'that he had no wish to be an emperor of pagans, only of Christians; and that he would prefer being leader of two orthodox people than of thousands and thousands of the godless' (you should know that Julian transferred all the citizens and the whole military force — a few excluded — from Christianity to paganism!). No sooner was this said than the crowd yelled as if by agreement: "we all are Christians and eager to follow your opinion!" On these conditions Jovianus accepted the crown. After that a meeting was held to decide whether to continue the war against the Persians or to retreat, and the latter proposition was adopted by all men, for they feared the attacks of the already superior Persians. Therefore peace was offered to them on very humiliating terms by ceding to them many tribes and cities which were tributary to the Romans. For they argued, that 'concentrating one's forces and struggling in case of a too risky situation would be audacity. In such a case, retreating would mean security. Only being brave where risks should be taken would be a sign of courage'.
Thus they ride home from Persia and they keep the emperor in the centre of the army in order to protect him. And he proceeded in a splendid way. At the other end his wife accompanied by their son leaves the city to meet him halfway having provided herself an imperial escort. Unfortunately, she did not arrive in time to see him. For when the emperor had come as far as Ancyra (this is a Galatian town) he ate a recently grown mushroom (he was moderate as far as his diet was concerned) and died immediately. It was not a question of his eating too much, but the mushroom turned out to be drugged. And with his death it was done with piety as well. He reigned one year and eight months.

Zon. III 66,18 ἀπιοῦσι δὲ ἐπιφανῆναι τοὺς Πέρσας ὄπισθεν καὶ τοὺς οὐραγοῦντας ταράττειν. **14** sqq. *vide comm.* **15** εὐσεβείας ... ἐπιεικὴς εἶναι: cf. Ecl. Hist. 300,24 – 301,1 τῷ τε εὐσεβὴς εἶναι ... καὶ ἐπιεικής, alio autem contextu. **21–22** ὥσπερ ἀπὸ συνθήματος ἀνεβόησαν: cf. Zon. III 70,9 ὡς ἐκ συνθήματος ἅπαντες ἀντεβόησαν (sic) **26** τιθέντες: *vide comm.* παραχωροῦσι κτλ.: cf. Zon. III 70,14–16 ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρῶν αὐτοῖς πολλῶν παρεχώρησε καὶ δικαίων Ῥωμαίοις ἀνηκόντων ἀνέκαθεν. **31–34** cf. Zon. III 71,15–18, *vide* et *app. crit.* **34–37** cf. Zon. III 71,8–10, vide et Anon. Sath. 57,23–25.

59 Οὐαλεντινιανός. Ὁ βασιλεὺς Οὐαλεντινιανὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἁβρῶν καὶ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων καὶ τὴν μὲν χεῖρα περὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δραστήριος, τὴν γνώμην δὲ μισοπόνηρος καὶ δικαιοσύνης εἴπερ τινὸς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἀντεχόμενος. Ἔλεγε γοῦν ʽοἰκείαν ἀρετὴν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν δικαιοσύνην εἶναι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἔλαττον αὐτῷ φροντιστέον· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιεικείᾳ τοσοῦτον οὐδὲ σωφροσύνῃ κατευθύνοιτο αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνῃ. Ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ ἡ κριτικὴ ἐπιστήμη ἕπεται, ἥτις ἐπιβολῇ κατορθοῦται φρονήσεως. Ἐξ ἀνάγκης γὰρ ὁ δικαιοσύνην ἀσκῶν παρακολουθοῦσαν ἔχει καὶ φρόνησιν'. Μέγας μὲν οὖν ἐγεγόνει ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἐν πᾶσι πράγμασι. Πολέμους γὰρ κατωρθώκει κατὰ βαρβάρων πολλοὺς καὶ πλεονεξίαν ἐκ μέσου πεποίηκε. Δύο δ' ἄν τις αὐτῷ ταῦτα κακίσειεν, ἓν μέν, ὅτι ἀμφίβολος τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἦν μὴ αὐτὸς πρεσβεύων τὴν ὀρθὴν δόξαν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑτέροις ταύτην ποιούμενος, καὶ ἑαυτὸν καταιτιώμενος, ὅτι μὴ γινώσκοι μὴ μαθήματος μηδὲ εἰδείη περὶ μεγάλου φιλοσοφεῖν πράγματος· ἓν μὲν οὖν ἄν τις τοῦτο προσονειδίσειεν, ἕτερον δέ, ὅτι, δεῆσαν αὐτῷ κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείας λαβεῖν, οὐ τὸν κράτιστον ἐκ πάντων προσείληφεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Οὐάλεντα, ἄνδρα θεομισῆ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὀργίλον καὶ τοὺς τρόπους κακοηθέστατον. Τούτῳ δὴ τῷ Οὐάλεντι τὴν ἑσπέραν πιστεύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐθνῶν τινων ἐκεῖθεν ἐπαναστάντων αὐτῷ αὐτὸς τῆς ἑῴας εἴχετο λήξεως. Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν πόλιν Καλχηδόνα καταστρεψάμενος (ἥτις καταντικρὺ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἵδρυτο) τὸν μέγαν ἐντεῦθεν ἀγωγὸν κατεσκεύασε. Πρέσβευσι δὲ Σαυροματῶν χρηματίζων θυμῷ τε κατὰ τούτων κεκίνητο καὶ μέγα τι ἀσθμήνας καὶ βύθιον μίαν διέρρηξε τῶν περὶ τὸ στέρνον ἀρτηριῶν. Ἔνθεν τοι καὶ αἵματος πολλοῦ ῥυέντος ἐκεῖθεν μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον ἔτη ζήσας τρισκαίδεκα. Εἴωθε δὲ λέγειν ἀεί ʽοὐ χρὴ ἐπαμύνειν ἀνδρὶ πολεμοῦντι θεῷ'. Ἐπὶ τούτου Βασίλειος ὁ μέγας καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ πάνυ ἀρετῇ καὶ γνώσει διέλαμπον.

269v **60** Οὐάλης. | Οὐκ ἀσεβὴς μόνον Οὐάλης ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίου ἔχων ψυχήν. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ καὶ ἀνθρωπείων σαρκίων ἐμφοροῖτο καὶ ἡπάτων ἀπογεύοιτο κατὰ τῶν συῶν τοὺς θερμοτέρους. Μάλιστα δὲ Χριστιανῶν τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ μέρει ἀντέκειτο καὶ τούτων διώκτης ἦν βαρύτατός τε καὶ φρικωδέστατος, καινάς τινας ἐπινοῶν κατὰ τῶν

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44 κατευθύνοιτο sic, ut videtur, ms., sed fortasse leg. κατευθύνοντο. Utique πράγματα in functione subiecti interpretanda sunt. Si lectio κατευθύνοντο sit correcta, oratio obliqua in verbo φροντιστέον terminatur. **52** μὴ γινώσκοι μὴ μαθήματος μηδὲ suspectum mihi videtur, *vide comm.* **57** ἐθνῶν τινῶν (eodem modo Ecl. Hist. 302,5) **59** Καρχηδόνα *vide comm.* **60** ἵδρυστο πρέσβευσι *vide* ad 34,9 **61** κατὰ τοῦτο

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41 τὴν γνώμην κτλ.: cf. Zon. III 73,12 τὴν γνώμην ἦν δικαιότατος.

59 Valentinianus. The emperor Valentinianus belonged to the guiding, luxurious and fortunate ranks of the Romans. Nevertheless he was an energetic warrior against all enemies, and a man who hated wrong-doing and of all virtues most adhered to justice. He used, indeed, to say that 'justice was the most appropriate virtue for an emperor; it would suffice to pay less attention to the other virtues. In his opinion things should no more be ordered according to reasonableness or wisdom than according to justice. For in its wake followed jurisprudence, which is only to be realised by means of profound insight. As a consequence he who exercised justice must necessarily have the insight at his disposal as well'. At any rate this emperor was great in all his undertakings. For he won many wars against the barbarians and banished arrogance from his midst. One can criticise him on these two points: first, he was ambiguous in matters of faith, for, though not esteeming orthodoxy for himself, he demanded its furtherance from others, whereas at the same time he blamed himself for the fact that his scientific knowledge was deficient and that he thus could not discuss important matters.

This was one thing with which one can reproach him, the other was that at the moment he had need of a companion in the empire, he did not choose the best of all, but rather his brother Valens, a man who hated God, who was irascible, who had an abominable character. To this Valens he entrusted the western part. He, the emperor himself, took on the eastern part because a number of tribes there were in revolt. After destroying the town Chalcedon – this town is situated across from Byzantium – he had the great aquaduct in the latter city built.

On the occasion of an audience given to envoys of the Sauromates he grew so enraged that he gasped for breath and one of the inner arteries in his breast broke. Hence he died from a heavy haemorrhage after ruling thirteen years. He always used to say: "don't come to me to defend a man who wages war against God". During his empire flourished Basilius the Great and Gregory who was famous for his piety and wisdom.

60 Valens. The emperor Valens was not only a godless man, he also had the soul of a beast. So it was nothing to him to fill himself with human flesh or to take a taste of liver: as the most hot-blooded boars would do. He aimed sharply at the most pious among the Christians, and was their most fearsome and horrible persecutor, who invented some new methods of torturing the

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42 ἔλεγε κτλ.: cf. Zon. III 73,14 τὸν κρατοῦντα λέγων ἀπαιτεῖσθαι δικαιοσύνης πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων φροντίζειν. **54** κοινωνὸν κτλ.: *vide comm.* **57–58** *vide comm.* **58–60** cf. Ecl. Hist. 302,21–23. **60–62** cf. Theoph. 61,25 – 62,2, Georg. Mon. 559,11 sqq., Ecl. Hist. 302,24–30, Cedr. I 547,1–10; *vide comm.* **64–65** οὐ χρὴ ... θεῷ: = Ecl. Hist. 303,2–3 ≋ Cedr. I 546,22–23 ≋ Glyk. 473,8, *vide* et *comm.* **65–66** cf. Ecl. Hist. 303,3 ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Βασίλειος καὶ Γρηγόριος ἤκμαζον, ... , cf. et Cedr. I 546,13; 19–20 **68–69** *vide comm.*

ἀθλητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τιμωρίας, ἃς οὔτε Μαξιμῖνος οὔτε Διοκλητιανὸς μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ Μαξιμιανός, οὔθ' ὁ ὑπερβαλλόμενος τῇ ὠμότητι τούτους Λικίνιος κατὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς λόγου μαρτυρησάντων εὐπορήκασιν ἢ ἐπενόησαν. Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τούτων ἡ Δίκη οὐκ ἐπενύσταξεν, ἀλλὰ δικαίῳ θυμῷ ἐλήλυθεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. Τοῖς γὰρ Σκύθαις ἐπὶ τῆς ἑσπέρας μαχόμενος, οἵτινες τὴν Μαιῶτιν διαπλεύσαντες λίμνην ἐπὶ τὸ Θρᾳκῶν μέρος εἰσέφρησαν, ἡττᾶται κατὰ κράτος καὶ φυγῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν πιστεύσας εἴς τι καταφεύγει οἴκημα, ἔνθα ἀχύρου τι πλῆθος ἐπισεσώρευται. Περισχόντες δὲ τοῦτον οἱ βάρβαροι πῦρ τε ἔβαλλον καὶ ὑφῆψαν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ οἰκίσκῳ καὶ συρφετῷ τὸν ἀλιτήριον τοῦτον ἄνδρα κατέκαυσαν, ἔτη τρισκαίδεκα βασιλεύσαντα καὶ τὴν Ἀρειανικὴν δόξαν πρεσβεύσαντα. Δυσπαραίτητος δὲ πρὸς ὀργὰς ὢν εἴθιστο λέγειν, ὡς ὁ ταχέως μεταθέμενος τὴν ὀργὴν ταχύτερον καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης μετάθοιτο. Καιναῖς δὲ βασάνοις κατὰ τῶν εὐσεβούντων χρώμενος καί γε νεώτερα κολαστηρίων εἴδη ἐπινοούμενος τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔφασκεν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἤδη εὑρεθεῖσι βασανιστηρίοις οἱ κολαζόμενοι γενναίως ἀντεκατέστησαν. Οὐαλεντινιανὸν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπῄνει μὲν τῆς γενναιότητος καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον εὐτυχημάτων, ἀγνόημα δὲ ἀγνοῆσαι τοῦτον ἔλεγε μέγιστον τὴν Ἀρείου δόξαν, κτίσμα τὸν τοῦ μεγάλου πατρὸς λόγον σαφῶς ἀποφαίνουσαν. Ὑποφλεγόμενον δὲ τῷ παρὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν πυρὶ τοῦτό φασι τελευταῖον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὰς μὲν βαρβαρικὰς χεῖρας ἐκπέφευγεν, ἥττηται δὲ οὐ πάντα τὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸς ἡττηθήσεται.

61 Γρατιανός. Γρατιανὸς υἱὸς μὲν βασιλέως Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος ἀδελφιδοῦς. Οὔτε δὲ τὸν τῆς πατρῴας δικαιοσύνης χαρακτῆρα ἑαυτῷ διεσώσατο οὔτε τὴν Οὐάλεντος θρησκείαν ἐδόξασεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν περὶ τὸ θεῖον δόξαν ἀμφίβολος καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, ἥττων δὲ πόνων καὶ καρτερίας. Ὅθεν Θεοδόσιον τὸν μέγαν ἐξ Ἱσπανίας μετακαλεσάμενος, εἶτα δὴ καὶ διάδημα περιθέμενος καὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν πιστεύσας ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν τότε ληιζομένην αὐτὸς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διέτριβεν. Ἀλλ' ὁ Βρετανὸς Μάξιμος ἐπιμανὴς Γρατιανῷ γεγονώς, ὅτι ἀνθείλετο τούτου εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν Θεοδόσιον, εὐμηχάνως ἐπιβεβουλευκὼς ἀναιρεῖ, ἓξ ἔτη ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας διαγενόμενον. Ἦν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων, ὧν οἶδεν, ὁ πόλεμος ἐλάττων, ἠφίει δὲ βέλη κατὰ σκοπόν. Ἔλεγε δέ, ὡς οὐ περὶ πολλὰ δεῖ τὸν βασιλέα διαιρεῖσθαι καὶ πραγματεύεσθαι καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ ἐλαφρὸν φαίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἓν τῶν ἐπαινουμένων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφοδρόν.

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74 εὐφορήκασιν **75** Δίκη littera capitalis in ms. **79** ἐπισώρευται prior iota macula deformata est **80** ἔβαλλον sic ms. Desideres ἔβαλον, sed *vide comm.* **84** κοιναῖς **85** καὶ γενεώτερα κολαστηρίων ἤδη **87** Οὐαλεντιανὸν **94** Οὐαλεντιανοῦ **3** Ἰσπανίας **6** γεγονός **10** ἓν scripsi : ὧν ms.

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75 cf. Man. 2399 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐνύσταξεν ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἡ δίκη, ... quae verba autem a Manasse sunt dicta de Juliano Apostata: vide et Leo Diac. 91,13—14 de Nicephori Phocae

athletes of Christ, the likes of which neither Maximinus, nor after him Diocletianus with Maximianus, nor Licinius who surpassed even them in cruelty produced or contrived against the martyrs on behalf of the true word. Dike (= Justice), however, did not drop a sleep over these deeds, but fell upon him with righteous fury. He suffered a heavy defeat in the West against the Scythians who crossed the Maeotic Sea (= Sea of Azof ~ Black Sea) and invaded the land of the Thracians. Fleeing he sought refuge in a dwelling, in which a mass of straw had been stored up. The barbarians surrounded him, set the dwelling on fire and incinerated this sinful man together with the house and the rubbish. He had been emperor for thirteen years and favoured the Areian faith. Inexorable when mad, he used to say that 'he who soon gives up his wrath, gives up justice too soon'. His practising new tortures on the orthodox and inventing even more infernal torments, he defended by saying that 'the tortured already showed a brave resistance to the existing methods of torture'. He often praised his brother Valentinianus for his valour and his successes in war; he stated, on the other hand, that his greatest fault was his absolute ignorance of the Areian faith, which clearly proved that the Word is a creation of the great Father. His last words — according to tradition — were, as he began to be roasted by the fire of the Scythians, that 'he, indeed, had escaped the barbarian hand, but was done in by that which would put an end to all the elements, yea, to the universe itself'.

61 Gratianus. Gratianus was the son of emperor Valentinianus and a cousin of Valens. However, he preserved for himself neither his father's justice, nor did he hold the theological opinions of Valens, but he wavered in theological matters and was not able to deal with troubles or to persevere. Therefore he summoned from Spain Theodosius the Great, on whom he put the diadem and whom he trusted with the East, that now suffered plunder from the Scythians. He himself stayed in Rome. The Briton Maximus, however, was very angry with Gratianus because he had preferred Theodosius for the empire, and he killed him by an ingenious plot after he had been on the throne for six years. Of his abilities warfare was the least, but he was a master of archery. His device was, an emperor should not divide his attention and worry about too many things, failing in each of them, but should favour one thing and concentrate on that passionately.

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percussoribus. **76–82** *vide comm.* **83–84** cf. Zon. III 82,2–4 ἦν γὰρ δυσπαραίτητος τὰς ὀργὰς ὁ Οὐάλης· ὅθεν καὶ ἔλεγεν ὡς „ὁ ταχὺ μεταθέμενος τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἂν μετάθοιτο τάχιστα". Vide etiam apud Zos. IV 23,5 ἀπειθοῦσι δὲ σφοδρὸς καὶ ἀπαραίτητος εἶναι δοκῶν ... **84–87** *vide comm.* **2** ἥττων δὲ –**5**: ~ Ecl. Hist. 304,3–6, cf. Zon. III 83,6–12 et 84,7–13 < Zos. IV 24,7, cf. Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* V 2 **5–8** ~ Ecl. Hist. 304,6 sqq. ~ Cedr. I 551,3 sqq., < Zos. IV 35,6 et 11,12. **8** ἠφίει κτλ.: cf. Ecl. Hist. 304,15–16 ≂ Cedr. I 551,10–12, ≂ Glyk. 474,10–12, ≂ Anon. Sath. 62,23–24.

62 Θεοδόσιος ὁ μέγας. Ἱσπανία πατρὶς τῷ μεγάλῳ Θεοδοσίῳ, πόλις ἡ κρατίστη τῆς ἑσπερίας Ἰβηρίας. Τούτῳ γυνὴ πρότερον συνῴκει Πλακίλα, ἐξ ἧς γεννᾷ Ἀρκάδιον καὶ Ὀνώριον, εἶτα θανάτῳ ταύτην ἀποβαλόμενος γαμεῖ Γάλλαν, Γρατιανοῦ ἀδελφήν. Κατὰ Σκυθῶν δὲ χωρήσας τοῦ ἔθνους ἐκράτησε. Μισοπονηρίαν δὲ εὐθὺς ἐνδειξάμενος Μάξιμον ἀνεῖλε τὸν Βρετανὸν τὸν Γρατιανὸν ἀποκτείναντα. Ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ δευτέρα σύνοδος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει γέγονε καὶ καθαιρεῖται ὁ πνευματομάχος Μακεδόνιος, μεθ' οὗ Σαβέλλιος ἅμα καὶ Ἀπολινάριος ἐκκηρύττεται. Ἦρχε δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης συνόδου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ φρονήματι ὁ θεολόγος Γρηγόριος. [Τελευτῶν δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀρκάδιον βασιλέα καθιστᾷ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τῆς δὲ ἑσπέρας ἁπάσης Ὀνώριον]. Τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ἔτη τῶν Ἀρειανῶν κατασχόντων τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος ἅμα τῇ συνόδῳ τὸν μέγαν ἐπὶ θεολογίᾳ μετακαλεῖται Γρηγόριον καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτῷ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐγχειρίζει τοὺς οἴακας, ὃς κυμαινομένην τὴν ἀληθῆ τοῦ θείου δόξαν παραλαβὼν λιμέσιν ἀκλύστοις ἐγκαθορμίζει. Καὶ λογικοῖς ὅπλοις τὰ μὲν ἀγχιμάχοις, τὰ δὲ καὶ πόρρωθεν ἅπαν τὸ τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἀποκρούεται θράσος καὶ γίνεται τῶν μὲν τεῖχος ὀχυρὸν καὶ χαράκωμα, τοῖς δὲ πέλεκυς κόπτων πέτραν, τοῖς δὲ πῦρ ἐν ἀκάνθαις, ὅ φησιν ἡ θεία γραφή. Ἀλλ' οὕτω μὲν ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος. Τῷ δέ γε βασιλεῖ Θεοδοσίῳ οὐ τοσοῦτον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἦν, ὅσον τῷ ἰδίῳ θυμῷ ἀπομάχεσθαι. Ἔλεγε δέ, ὡς δεῖ τὸν βασιλέα ἀριστοκρατήσαντα πρῶτον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, εἶτα δὴ τῷ λόγῳ τελεώτατα μοναρχήσαντα, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἄρχειν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους χωρεῖν. Τελευτᾷ δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχών, πολλοὺς μὲν πολέμους ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους κεκινηκώς, ἅπαντας δὲ πολλῷ τῷ περιόντι νενικηκὼς καὶ βασιλείας ἀρίστης παράδειγμα γεγονώς. ⟨Τελευτῶν δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀρκάδιον βασιλέα καθιστᾷ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τῆς δὲ ἑσπέρας ἁπάσης Ὀνώριον⟩.

63 Ἀρκάδιος. Υἱὸς Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀρκάδιος, ὡς ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν. Ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν τῆς ἑῴας ἁπάσης εἶχε τὸ κράτος, Ὀνωρίῳ δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἡ πρεσβυτέρα Ῥώμη κεκληροδότηται. Οὐ πάνυ δὲ ἐχέφρων οὗτος ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν πατρῴαν ἐζηλωκὼς ἀρετήν. Παῖδα δὲ τεκὼν Θεοδόσιον ἐπωνόμασε. Κυμαινομένης δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ τελευτᾶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίτροπον τῷ παιδὶ ⟨κατεστήσατο⟩ Ἰσδιγέρδην

12 Ἱσπανία littera I minio in margine scripta Θεοδωσίω **14** ἀποβαλλόμενος **17** δευτέρα : βτρ; in margine manu rec.: ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις αὐτοῦ ἡ βτρ σύνοδος ἐγεγόνει **21–22** Verba τελευτῶν ... Ὀνώριον quae qualibet causa dislocata in finem capitis (ad 46,37) transposui. Haec ibi per signa ⟨ ⟩ indicavi **25** αὐτοῦ **34** ἐπηκόων **37–38** Verba τελευτῶν ... Ὀνώριον e pag. 46, 21–22 huc transposui **44** κατεστήσατο complevi compar. Proc. I 2,7 ... ἐπίτροπον δὲ αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο Ἰσδιγέρδην τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα Εἰσδιγέρδην vide autem Proc. I 2,7, Theoph. Conf. 80,11 necnon Zon. III 100,10

62 Theodosius the Great. Spain, the strongest town of western Iberia, was the home-town for Theodosius the Great. His first wife was Placilla, who bore him Arcadius and Honorius. Having lost her by death he married Gratianus' sister Galla. Advancing on the Scythians he vanquished this people, and he showed immediately his dislike of wickedness by killing Maximus the Briton, who had murdered Gratianus. Under his rule the second Synod took place in Constantinople [*marg.* in his years the 2nd synod took place] and Makedonios, the fighter against the (Holy) Ghost, was expelled. Together with him Sabellios and Apollinarios were excommunicated. The leader in speech and thought at this Synod was the (famous) theologian Gregory. After forty years of Areian impact on the churches, the emperor Theodosius together with the Synod called on the grand theologian Gregory and put him at the helm of the church of Constantinople; and he took over the ark, which was drifting in its struggle for the true faith, and anchored it safely in a sheltered harbour. With the weapons of logic used both in close battle and at a long distance, he repelled all the insolence of the heretics, and he became to some a strong wall or palisade, to others 'the axe that breaketh the rock', to still others 'the fire of thorns', as says the Holy Writ. Thus far about the godly Gregory. However, as far as the emperor Theodosius is concerned, he had less trouble fighting against the barbarians than against his own disposition. He used to say, the emperor's first concern should be acquiring perfect self-control, next, being a conscientious and accomplished monarch, and thus he should reign over his subjects and proceed against the enemies.
His death came after sixteen years of reign, in which he waged many wars against the barbarians, vanquished them all by his great superiority and became an example of excellent rule. When he died, he appointed Arcadius emperor of Constantinople, and Honorius emperor of the whole West.

63 Arcadius. As has been stated already, Arcadius was the son of Theodosius the Great. His power covered the whole East, ancient Rome being the inheritance of his brother Honorius. The ability of this emperor was anything but great, neither was he zealous to equal his father's excellence. He begot a boy whom he called Theodosius. The empire being in great agitation around the time of his death, he appointed the Persian king Isdigerdes guardian of

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12 cf. Zon. III 83,9–10 ἡ δ' Ἱσπανία τῆς Εὐρωπαίας Ἰβηρίας ἐστὶ πόλις ἡ διαφορωτάτη τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ. Aliter Zon. II 176,19 sqq. **13–15** ≈ Ecl. Hist. 304,26–28 ≈ Cedr. I 552,13–15, qui scribunt Πλακίλλαν. Vide et Zos. IV 44,4 et Zon. III 87,3–7, qui autem Gallam non Gratiani sed Valentiniani senioris filiam appellat. Cf. et Theoph. 56,29, ubi ms. b scribit Πλακίλης, ms. c Πλακίδης. **15–16** ≈ Ecl. Hist. 304,28 **16–17** cf. Theoph. 70,27–29, Ecl. Hist. 304,29–31. **17–19** cf. Ecl. Hist. 304,31 – 305,1 et 305,4–5, Cedr. I 553,6–13, *vide comm.* **21–22** *vide comm.* **22** τεσσαράκοντα κτλ.: ≈ Ecl. Hist. 306,1–3, vide et Theoph. 69,4–7, Cedr. I 553, 16–18, necnon Anon. Sath. 64,10–12. **28** τεῖχος ὀχυρόν: Jer. 15,20. Ita corpus Sancti Symeonis τεῖχος καὶ ὀχύρωμα est dictum in Evagr. 23,10. **29** πέλεκυς κόπτων πέτραν: Jer. 23,29 πῦρ ἐν ἀκάνθαις: Psalm. 117,12.

τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα διαθέμενος ἔγγραφον, τοῦτο μόνον τῶν πάντων ἄριστα βουλευσάμενος. Ὁ γάρ τοι Πέρσης θαυμάσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ [Ὀνώριον] κατασφαλίζεται τῷ παιδὶ Θεοδοσίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων, ἀπειλήσας τὰ φρικωδέστατα, εἴ τις ἄλλο παρὰ τοῦτο βουλεύοιτο. Ἔνθεν τοι ἐπεπήγεσαν ξύμπαντες καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀρκαδίῳ βασιλεύεσθαι εἵλοντο. Οὗτος πολέμων μὲν ἠμέλει, περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς ἐπραγματεύετο, τοῦτο πολλάκις ἀναφθεγγόμενος | [270r] ὡς κορυφὴ πάντων μαθημάτων ὁ ἀριθμός. Τελευτᾷ δὲ δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἔτη βασιλεύσας.

64 Θεοδόσιος ὁ νέος. Υἱὸς μὲν Ἀρκαδίου ὁ Θεοδόσιος, καλλίων δὲ παρὰ πολὺ τοῦ πατρός, ὃς δὴ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ τοῦ θείου Χρυσοστόμου σῶμα εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν μετακομίζει καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἀποστόλων νεῷ λαμπρῶς κατατίθησιν. Ἔπειτα ὅπως ἂν σπονδὰς θεῖτο πρὸς τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα ἐπραγματεύετο. Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφησε φιλιωθῆναι αὐτίκα τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ προὐβάλετό τινα τῶν μάλιστα Περσῶν, ἄνδρα γεννάδαν, εἰρηκὼς ὡς σπείσαιτο πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, εἴ τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἀντιθέτων μονομαχεῖν ἑλόμενος κατισχύσειε. Δέχεται τὴν πρόκλησιν Ἀρεόβινδος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ὃς τηνικαῦτα στρατηλάτης προὐβέβλητο καὶ αὐτίκα ἱππασάμενος τῷ Πέρσῃ ἀντικαθίσταται. Καὶ βάλλει καιρίαν καὶ στεφανηφόρος ἐπάνεισι, στοιχεῖ δὲ τοῖς ὡμολογημένοις ὁ Πέρσης καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνθήκας ποιεῖται, καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν πολέμων ἀνακωχὴν ἡ βασιλεία Ῥωμαίων λαμβάνει. Ἀφειμένος οὖν φροντίδων ὁ Θεοδόσιος τὸν περίβολον αὐξάνει τῆς πόλεως, τῷ προγεγονότι δύο προσθεὶς ἕτερα διαστήματα. Εἶτα τί; Συμπίπτει αὐτῷ ὁ ἵππος ἐπὶ θήραν ἐλαύνοντι καὶ πληγεὶς τὰ καίρια μέρη τοῦ σώματος Μαρκιανῷ τινι ἀνδρὶ Ῥωμαίῳ πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς βρύοντι τὸ διάδημα περιτίθησιν. Ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ᾀδόμενον ⟨τρισάγιον⟩ γίνεται· παιδίον ἄφνω μικρὸν εἰς οὐρανὸν αἴρεται καὶ ἐκεῖσε διδάσκεται μὴ προστιθέναι τῷ 'ἅγιος ὁ θεός' τὸ 'ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς', εἶτα δὴ μετὰ πολλὰς τὰς ὥρας καταβεβηκὸς μυσταγωγεῖ ὃ μεμύηται. Καὶ καταρτίζεται καὶ αὖθις αἶνος τῷ θεῷ οὐκ ἐκ θηλάζοντος μέν, οὔπω δὲ ἡβήσαντος. Τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ περισσότερον τῆς γλώσσης τὸ φρόνημα, ὅθεν τὰ πολλὰ τῶν βουλευμάτων ὀλίγοις ἐφθέγγετο ῥήμασι προστιθεὶς 'μὴ τῶν λαλούντων δεῖν εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ τῶν φρονούντων'.

65 Μαρκιανός. Οὗτος ἱεροπρεπὴς ἀναδείκνυται αὐτοκράτωρ, ὃς ἅμα

46–47 ἐπὶ τούτω Ὀνώριον κατασφαλίζεται. Ὀνώριον ut glossam delevi. Locus noster similitudinem monstrat Procopii (I 2,10) Theophanisque historiae (80,15–19) **47** Θεοδωσίω **56** θήτω **57** ἐπεπραγματεύετο, *vide comm.* **58** προὐβάλλετο : emendavi compar. Ecl. Hist. 309,15, quamquam idem scripsit 309,11 γεννάδα **63** ὁμολογημένοις **68** καιρία **70** τρισάγιον supplevi, *vide comm.* Cf. Ecl. Hist. 310,11 μὴ προστιθέναι ἐν τῷ τρισαγίῳ ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, ὃ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ᾄδεται

his son by testament, the only really prudent thing he ever did. As a matter of fact the Persian wondered at this will but secured the Roman empire for young Theodosius by holding out the most horrible threats to anybody plotting against it. In consequence nobody made a move and all preferred to remain under Arcadius' rule. He did not much care about warfare, but he was very busy with numerals (= cabbalism), as appears from his frequently saying that the numeral is the summit of all learning. He died after a reign of twenty-two years.

64 Theodosius the younger. Theodosius being Arcadius' son surpassed by far his father. The translation of the body of the godly Chrysostom to Constantinople and its solemn interment in the Apostles' church was his first deed. Next he busied himself with the problem of how to conclude an armistice with the Persian king. The latter however, declined a direct reconciliation with the emperor. He put forward one of the very best Persians, a brave man, and announced a truce with the Romans, if one of the adversaries would fight him in single combat and win. The challenge was taken by the Roman Areobindus, being at this moment proposed as a general, who immediately vaulted into the saddle and opposed the Persian. He inflicted a deadly blow and returned victorious. The Persian king accepted the consequences of the agreement and concluded a truce with the emperor, and thus the Roman empire won some respite from the Persian wars. Freed from troubles Theodosius augmented the territory of the capital, adding twice as much as the original area. Afterwards it came to pass that during a hunt his horse fell upon him, and being kicked in the vital parts he put the diadem on a certain Marcianus, a Roman, who was bursting with all virtues.
Under the emperor Theodosius the 'trishagion' (= trice-holy (-song)) was introduced, which continues to be sung until this day: a small boy was suddenly taken up to heaven and instructed there that *he, who was crucified for us* ought not to be added to *holy is God*; many hours later the boy descended again from heaven and revealed the mystery into which he had been initiated. And thus was the praise of God correctly restored by one who was a suckling no more, nor yet full grown. For this emperor, thinking outreached talking. Hence he accompanied most of his plans with a minimum of words, to which he added 'the emperor should not join the talkers but the thinkers'.

65 Marcianus. He proved himself a god-fearing emperor. As soon as he

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54–56 cf. Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* VII 45, Theoph. 92,37 sqq., Ecl. eccl. hist. = Cramer 100,26 sqq., Cedr. I 599,15–18, Zon. III 106,4–10 **57–65** *vide comm.* **66** δύο προσθεὶς ἕτερα διαστήματα: = Georg. Mon. 604,12 sqq., Ecl. Hist. 309,23 προσθεὶς ἄλλα διαστήματα δύο, differente ceterum contextu. **67–69** cf. Ecl. Hist. 309,25–32 = Cedr. I 602,8–15. **69–74** *vide comm.* **73–74** cf. Psalm. 8,3, Matth. 21,16 ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον. **78** ἱεροπρεπής: = Ecl. Hist. 311,4 **78–83** *vide comm.*

τῷ βασιλεῦσαι κατὰ Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Διοσκόρου καὶ Νεστορίου σύνοδον ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ποιεῖται, ὧν οἱ μὲν περὶ Νεστόριον οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν ἑνοῦσι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸν κύριον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχέσιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Εὐτυχῆ τὴν σάρκα τούτῳ φαντάζουσι, καὶ ἐκκηρύττει τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ σύνοδος ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ Ἀρείου τετάρτη. Τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀετὸς τῆς κεφαλῆς καταπτὰς περιεῖπε ταῖς πτέρυξιν ἁλώσιμον τοῖς βαρβάροις γεγενημένον πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀναρρήσεως. Πολέμους δὲ πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων ἀράμενος ἐπὶ πᾶσι τροπαιοφόρος ἀνελήλυθε. Πέντε δὲ μῆνας πρὸς ἐνιαυτοῖς ἓξ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐπιβιοὺς ἐτελεύτησε, πρεσβύτης μὲν καὶ πλήρης ἡμερῶν, ἄρτιος δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐπιεικής. Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐπιχειλῆ εἶχεν ἀεί· 'μὴ δεῖν βασιλέα, ἕως ἔξεστι, πολεμεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰρηνεύειν ἀεί'.

66 Λέων ὁ Μακέλλης. Εἰ καὶ τὴν τύχην οὐκ ἐπίσημος Λέων ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ τὴν γνώμην ὑπέρλαμπρος, κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ ταῖς Ῥωμαϊκαῖς ἐπαυξάνων ἀρχαῖς ἀπό τινος προφάσεως εὐτυχοῦς τέλος Μαρκιανοῦ τελευτήσαντος προσήκων τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὑπὲρ πάντας ἔδοξε· καὶ γεννᾷ μὲν εὐθὺς Ζήνωνα, ὁ δὲ Ζήνων Λέοντα τῷ πάππῳ ὁμώνυμον. Προσέκειτο δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ βασιλεὺς Λέων τῷ ἐγγόνῳ ἢ τῷ παιδί. Ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς Ζήνων οὔτε τὸ εἶδος εἶχε τυραννίδος ἄξιον οὔτε τὴν γνώμην πρέπουσαν βασιλεῖ. Ὅθεν πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ γενόμενος τὸν παῖδα παραβλεψάμενος τὸν ἔγγονον βασιλέα καθίστησιν. Ἐξαίρετος δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ Λέοντι ἀρετὴ ἡ φιλανθρωπία· οὐδένα γοῦν τῶν κατακρίτων ἰδὼν οὐκ ἠλέησε, τοῦτο εἰωθὼς λέγειν, ὡς οὔτε ἥλιος ἀλαμπῆ ἐᾷ ὃν βάλλει καθαραῖς ταῖς ἀκτῖσιν, οὔτε βασιλεὺς ἀνοίκτιστον ὃν ἴδοι τοῖς ὄμμασιν, εἴ γε τὸ βασιλέως τηροίη ἀξίωμα. Ἔτη δὲ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ βιώσας ιη΄ τελευτᾷ.

67 Λέων ὁ μικρός. Οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας τοῦ μεγάλου αὐτοκράτορος Λέοντος ὁ μικρὸς Λέων ὁ ἔγγονος αὐτοῦ τῇ βασιλείᾳ διήρκεσεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἰδέαν τοῦ πάππου διέσῳζεν, οὔπω δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἐπεφύκει πρὸς μῆκος ζωῆς, ἀλλ' ἕνα χρόνον βιοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τελευτᾷ. Τέως δὲ πρὸς τῷ τέλει γενόμενος τῆς ζωῆς καὶ ἀμφίβολος ὢν τίνα τῶν πάντων τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐγκαθιδρῦσαι, ἐπειδὴ τὸν πατέρα ᾔδει Ζήνωνα τῷ πάππῳ ἀπεωσμένον καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλους παρεισαγόντων, τέλος ἐπικλινὴς τῷ φύσαντι γίνεται καὶ ταῖς [ἐν] χερσὶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ λαβὼν τὸ διάδημα τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ

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82 Nisi auctor φαντάζω usus est cum significatione *specie modo existentem interpretari* (cf. notas ad 82) adiectivum intercidisse puto, e. g. οἱ δὲ περὶ Εὐτυχῆ ⟨ἑτεροούσιον⟩ τὴν σάρκα τούτῳ φαντάζουσι, cf. Zon. III 115, 16–17. **84–85** ἁλώσιμος … γεγενημένος **89** ἐπὶ χείλη, *vide comm.* **16** ταῖς ἐν χερσίν: delevi ἐν , sed Zonara comparato praepositionem ἐν loco pronominis ἑαυτοῦ in originali positam esse putaveris

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79 κατὰ … Νεστορίου: = Ecl. Hist. 311,12 = Cedr. I 604,18 **82** φαντάζουσι: cf. Ecl. Hist. 311,15 = Cedr. I 604,21–22 **86–87** πέντε … ἐνιαυτοῖς: cf. Ecl. Hist. 311,2 ἔτη ἓξ καὶ μῆνας πέντε **87–88** πρεσβύτης μὲν καὶ πλήρης ἡμερῶν: cf. Ecl. Hist. 311,3 πρεσβύτης τὴν ἡλικίαν, Zon. III 121,8 πρεσβύτης γενόμενος καὶ ζήσας ἐπὶ μακρόν.

became ruler, he convened a synod at Chalcedon against Eutyches, Dioskoros and Nestorios. Nestorios and his adherents argue that consubstantiality of the Lord with man has no reality, but is only a fiction; Eutyches and his followers label His appearance in the flesh a fantasy. Marcianus had them all banished from the church. This synod was the fourth after the one against Arius.
Once he was not yet emperor an eagle alighted upon his head to shade him, when he was taken prisoner by the barbarians before his proclamation. He waged many wars for the cause of the Romans and returned victorious from them all. He lived six years and five months in office and died, being old and at the end of his days, but sound of body and fair of mind. This saying was constantly on his lips: 'an emperor should as long as possible avoid waging war, but should always keep peace'.

66 Leo the Butcher (Makelles). Though of humble birth the emperor Leo demonstrated a brilliant intelligence. He gradually rose to increasingly important functions and finally, after Marcianus' death, he seemed for some felicitous reason the most suited to the imperial task. At once he begot Zeno, and Zeno begot Leo, named after his grandfather. The emperor Leo, however, felt more attachment to his grandson than to his son. For his son Zeno had anything but royal appearance or an imperial character. Therefore he passed over his son when he died, and appointed his grandson emperor. Emperor Leo's extraordinary virtue was his humanity. To whomever he saw condemned he showed his compassion, as he used to say that just as the sun sets in full light everybody it touches by its clear rays, thus the emperor ought to pity everyone he saw with his eyes, if he observed, indeed, the imperial dignity.

67 Leo the younger. The expectations of the great emperor Leo were not fulfilled by his grandson the younger Leo, who proved insufficiently competent for the empire, though he tried to maintain his grandfather's image. Besides, his grandfather had not lived long enough to see him full-grown, and he himself died after ruling only one year. Feeling the end of his life approaching he was in doubt as to whom of all people he should put upon the throne, for he knew that his father Zeno had been rejected by his grandfather. But being all the time confronted with different recommendations, he finally inclined to his father and, taking with his own hands the

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89–90 μὴ … εἰρηνεύειν ἀεί: cf. Zon. III 121,10 … ἔλεγε μὴ δεῖν ὅπλα βασιλέα κινεῖν, ἕως εἰρηνεύειν ἐξόν. Vide et Psellum *Mich. VII*, XVII 8 ἢ εἰρηνεύειν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἢ μάχεσθαι (ed. Aerts BSlav. XLI (1980) p. XXIV). **95** τῷ πάππῳ ὁμώνυμον: ≂ Man. 2942 ὁμώνυμος τῷ πάππῳ **1** cf. Zon. III 126,14–16 **2–4** cf. Glyk. 490,7–8 τὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀριάδνῃ γαμβρὸν Ζήνωνα παριδὼν ὁ Μέγας Λέων τῷ ἐγγόνῳ αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐνεχείρισε σκῆπτρα, Man. 2944–45 καὶ παριδὼν τὸν Ζήνωνα καὶ φίλτρον θυγατρίου, χειρίζει τῷ θυγατριδῷ τῆς βασιλείας σκῆπτρα. **4–7** cf. Zon. III 127,15–19. *Vide* et *comm.* **16** ταῖς [ἐν] χερσὶν κτλ.: ≈ Zon. III 128,3–4 αὐτὸς ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶ τῇ ἐκείνου κεφαλῇ περιθεὶς τὸ διάδημα.

πατρὸς ἐναρμόζει, τοσοῦτον εἰρηκώς, ὅτι 'μοι δεκάζειν τὴν κρίσιν ἡ φύσις δέδωκε· καλλίων γὰρ πατὴρ ἄχαρις μυρίων ἀλλοτρίων ἐν ὥρᾳ καθεστηκότων.'

68 Ζήνων. Ζήνωνι οὐχ ἡ ὄψις μόνη κακή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πονηρά. Πατρὸς γὰρ ἀποτεχθεὶς εὐσεβοῦς καὶ δέον τοῖς εὐσεβέσι καταριθμεῖσθαι αὐτὸς τῆς τῶν ἀκεφάλων ἐγεγόνει αἱρέσεως. Ἀριάδνην δὲ γήμας ἀγαθὴν τὴν ὄψιν οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἐκείνης ἀπώνατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀτυχέστατος ἐκεῖθεν πάντων ἐγεγόνει βασιλέων. Αὕτη γὰρ ἅπαξ ἰδοῦσα τὸν δίκορον Ἀναστάσιον λογιώτατον ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς ἐν τέλει κατηριθμημένον τήν τε ὄψιν ἀκριβῶς διαλάμποντα, κατ' ἄκρας ἑαλώκει τἀνδρός. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Ζήνων γαστρὸς ἥττητο καὶ φιλοποσίας καὶ πολλάκις τοὺς λογισμοὺς μεθύων ἀπώλλυε καὶ ἐῴκει νεκρῷ, ἅπαξ τοῦτο γενόμενον τῷ τάφῳ καταχωννύει ζῶντα. Ὁ δὲ ἀνανήψας φωνὰς μὲν ἠφίει καὶ ὠλοφύρετο, ἤνυε δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' οὗ κέχωστο κακῶς ἀπεβίω.

69 Ἀναστάσιος ὁ δίκορος. Δίκορος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὠνόμασται Ἀναστάσιος, ὅτι διχρώους εἶχε τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ δεξιὸς αὐτοῦ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐμελαίνετο, ὑπόγλαυκος δὲ ὁ ἀριστερός. Οὕτως ἐκ φύσεως γεγονὼς ἦν καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς λόγους τὰ πρῶτα λογίων, τὰ δὲ εἰς τρόπους οὐδενὸς τῶν πονηρῶν δεύτερος. Θεμέλιος δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς κακοηθείας | [270v] ἡ δυσσέβεια. Εἰς γὰρ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἀφίκετο Σεβήρου καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ἐπρέσβευεν. Ἐπὶ τούτου Πρόκλος ὁ μέγας ἤνθει φιλόσοφος, ὃν ἐγὼ μετά γε Πλάτωνα τίθημι, ἀνὴρ Συριανοῦ μὲν μαθητὴς τοῦ σοφοῦ, ὑπερβαλὼν δὲ μακρῷ τὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν σοφίαν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τέλει συμπερανάμενος. Οὗτος ἀναγνοὺς πάντα τὰ Ἀρχιμήδεια, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς προσεφευρών, ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἠγνόησε, κάτοπτρα χαλκεύσας πυρφόρα τῶν τειχῶν ἀπῃώρησε καὶ πῦρ ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ τῶν πολιορκούντων τὴν πόλιν βαρβάρων ἐξεκεραύνωσε. Τοσοῦτον δὲ τὸ περιὸν τῆς ἀσεβείας τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι καὶ αὖθις τὸ 'ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς' τῷ 'ἅγιος ἀθάνατος' ἀνενεώσατο. Ἐφ' ᾧ τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἡ πληθὺς στασιάσαντες μικροῦ δεῖν ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦτον διέσπασαν. Ὁ δὲ δείσας περὶ τῷ θανεῖν, ἀποδύεται μὲν αὐτίκα πρὸς βραχὺ τὴν ἀσέβειαν, αὖθις δὲ ἐπενδύεται. Πολέμους δὲ πολλοὺς ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων ἀνείλετο καὶ στεφανηφορίας εὐτύχηκε. Πρὸς δὲ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων τύχας μεταβαλλόμενος ἔλεγε 'μὴ δεῖν εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κρείττονα, ὃς νῦν μὲν συννεφὴς γίνεται, αὖθις δὲ διαυγής'. Τούτῳ ἐξεκόπησαν μὲν τὰ ἔτη διὰ δυσσέβειαν, κεραυνὸς δὲ βαλὼν ἀφείλετο τὴν ζωήν, ἔτη ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας πρὸς τοῖς τρισὶ δέκα διαβιώσαντα.

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20 Ζήνωνι : Ζῆν (= Ζήνων) **29** ὀλοφύρετο **31** Δίκορος[2] : Νίκορος, N manu miniatoris in margine **33** γεγονὼς ἦν καὶ τὰ μὲν : γεγονότι κατὰ μὲν *vide comm.* **45** χερσὶν (?), τ vocis τοῦτον cum ν confuso

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20 cf. Zon. III 128,5–6 ἦν δὲ ὁ Ζήνων ... αἴσχιστος ... καὶ τὴν μορφὴν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν γεγονώς, ... *Vide* et *comm.* **25–29** cf. Zon. III 132,9–17. *Vide* et *comm.* **35** κακοηθείας: eodem usus est vocabulo Man. 3015 καὶ πᾶσαν κακοήθειαν ἐξήνεγκεν εἰς μέσον.

diadem, he put it upon his father's head, saying only: "nature led me to take a biased decision: better an unwelcome father than thousands of random strangers".

68 Zeno. Not only Zeno's appearance was horrible, but he had also an evil soul. Though the son of an orthodox father and obliged to side with the orthodox, he joined the heresy of the 'acephals'. He married the beautiful Ariadne but she brought him no pleasure. On the contrary, she made him the unhappiest of all emperors. For no sooner had she seen Anastasios, a man with two differently coloured eyes, very erudite, belonging to the gentle ranks and really handsome, than she was absolutely fascinated by the man. And because Zeno was the slave of his belly and a dipsomaniac, and often got drunk out of his mind so that he resembled a corpse, she had him buried alive once, when he was in this condition. Sober again he cried and wailed, but in vain, and he died wretchedly where he was buried.

69 Bipupilled Anastasios. The emperor Anastasios was named 'bipupilled', because of his differently coloured eyes. For his right eye was dark, his left light blue. Having this physical peculiarity he belonged among the most erudite as to education; as to character, his wickedness was unsurpassed. And this malignity was founded on his unorthodoxy. He joined the Severian heresy and favoured its case. Under his rule flourished the great Proclus, a philosopher whom I consider second after Plato. He was a pupil of the wise Syrianos, but he exceeded his teacher by far and he raised Greek wisdom to his own standard. He studied all the works of Archimedes, but invented many things that had remained unknown to Archimedes. Thus he had fire-bearing mirrors of bronze placed upon the walls; from there he fired thunderbolts upon the barbarians who besieged the city.
The emperor showed such an excess of godlessness that he again added *He, who was crucified for us* to the *Holy, Eternal.* Therefore the masses of the orthodox rose up against him and had him very nearly lynched. Afraid to die he immediately laid his godlessness down for a while, resuming it, however, shortly after. He waged many wars in defence of the Romans and luckily proved victorious. About his yielding to the vicissitudes of fortune he used to say 'an emperor should not consider himself better than heaven, which now appears clouded, then again bright'. His years were shortened beause of his unorthodoxy and he was stricken to death by the thunderbolt after a thirteen years' life in office.

36–37 ἐπὶ τούτου ... ἤνθει φιλόσοφος: cf. Zon. III 138,2 τότε γὰρ ἤνθει ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ (sc. ὁ Πρόκλος). *Vide* et *comm.* 36–43. **39–41** οὗτος ... ἠγνόησε: cf. Zon. III 138,3–4 **41** κάτοπτρα –**43** ἐξεκεραύνωσε: ≈ Zon. III 138,5–9. Vide et Zon. II 210,6 sqq. de Archimedis machinationibus. **50–51** *vide comm.*

70 Ἰουστῖνος ὁ Θρᾷξ ὁ μέγας. Οὗτος τὴν εὐσεβῆ δόξαν ἐπρέσβευε καὶ πανηγύρεις θεοπρεπεῖς τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίῳ εἰσήνεγκε. Καὶ πολέμους κατὰ βαρβάρων νενίκηκεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ δεινότατα πάντων ἐπὶ τῆς τούτου βασιλείας κεκαινοτόμηται. Ἐκινήθη γὰρ μικροῦ δεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ σύμπασα γῆ, ἡ δὲ περικαλλὴς Ἀντιόχεια τάφος ἄντικρυς τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐγένετο. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ἅιδου γεγονότες οἱ συγχωσθέντες οἰκτροτάτας φωνὰς ἠφίεσαν. Καὶ γυνὴ δέ τις ἐπὶ τῆς τούτου ἀρχῆς ὑπερμεγέθης τὸ σῶμα ὤπτο, ὡς ὑπερβάλλειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὕψει τοὺς θρυλουμένους Γίγαντας. Καὶ λιθίνη δὲ πλὰξ ἱερογλυφικὰ γράμματα ἐγκεκολαμμένα ἐν αὐτῇ ἔχουσα ἀνεδόθη τοῦ Σκιρτοῦ ποταμοῦ· ἐγέγραπτο δὲ 'Σκιρτὸς ποταμὸς σκιρτήσει κακὰ σκιρτήματα πολίταις'. Τελευτᾷ δὲ δυστυχῶς, ἔτη ἐννέα ἐπιβιοὺς τῇ ἀρχῇ.

71 Ἰουστινιανός. Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς παντοδαπῶν χρῆμα πράξεων ἐναντίων, καλῶν τέ φημι καὶ κακῶν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀγαθὰ τούτῳ· ἐξῳκοδόμησε ναὸν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίᾳ οἷον οὐκ ἄλλος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων οὔτε τῶν μετ' αὐτόν· ἐνομοθέτησε περὶ τῶν πρακτέων· πόλεις ἀνέστησεν ὀχυράς, τὰς δὲ καὶ οὔσας ἐτείχισεν· ὁδοὺς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐτέμετο εὐπετεῖς· τοὺς πρώτους τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ λογίων περὶ αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατο· ἐστρατήγησε κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, πολλάκις τρόπαια ἀπὸ τῶν νενικημένων ἐστήσατο· Σευῆρον τὸν ἀκέφαλον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπήλασε, σύνοδον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ποιησάμενος. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινούμενα αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, τὰ δ' ἐναντία· καινῶν τιμωριῶν ἐγεγόνει ἐφευρέτης· τοῖς γὰρ τῶν ἀτόπων τι πεποιηκόσι καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀρρενομανέσιν ἀναφανδὸν τὰ αἰδοῖα μαχαίρᾳ διέτεμεν ἢ κάλαμον ἀποξύνας εἰς τὸν τῆς αἰδοῦς πόρον ἐνέβαλεν. Ἐν ἱπποδρομίᾳ ποτὲ τῶν καταντικρὺ τῆς βασιλικῆς καθέδρας στασιασάντων, τότε μὲν ὑπεξήγαγεν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ θεάτρου, εἶτ' αὖθις κηρύξας τὰ ἱππηλάσια, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πλῆθος εἶδε συνειλεγμένον, προστάττει τοῖς ξιφηφόροις ξύμπαντας ἀνελεῖν. Τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τῶν κακῶν, ὅτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰρηνευούσης τὸ περὶ φθαρτοῦ καὶ ἀφθάρτου δόγμα ἐκίνησε. Καὶ δέον τοῖς λογιωτέροις καὶ εὐσεβεστέροις προσθέσθαι, ἑαυτῷ πιστεύσας τοῦ δόγματος τὴν διαφορὰν ἄφθαρτον τὸ τοῦ κυρίου σῶμα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἑνώσεως ἀπεφήνατο καὶ τῷ δόγματι ἔθετο, ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ γνωσιμαχήσας μετήλλαξε τὴν ζωὴν τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Ἰουστῖνον ἀξιώσας τοῦ διαδήματος, χρόνους βασιλεύσας ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα. Τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν νενοσηκότι τούτῳ καὶ βλάσφημα. Ἐπὶ

53 Θρὰξ **58** συχωσθέντες **61** ἐγκεκολλαμμένα , primo λ suprascripto **65** Ἰουστινιανὸς² : Ἰουστιανὸς **72** Σευῆρον : orthographiam non mutavi, licet scriba scripserit Σεβήρου in 52,36, comparato Zon. III 166,10 etc. et Ecl. Hist. 321,16, 316,26 (Σευῆρος) contra ibidem 316,12 (Σεβήρῳ) **73** σύνοδον : Cύνοδον, littera capitali C minio scripta post spatium **77** τοῦ αἰδοῦς **83** προσθεῖναι : correxit Kambylis, compar. 74,55

70 The Thracian Justin the elder. He favoured the orthodox faith and he introduced religious festivals that grace our life. He vanquished the barbarians at war, but during his rule some unprecedented catastrophes took place. Nearly the whole world suffered earthquakes in his time and beautiful Antioch was reduced to a tomb for his inhabitants. But even from the underworld the buried sent up their piteous voices. Under his reign there was also a gigantic woman to be seen, whose height even surpassed that of the famous giants. There appeared also from the river Skirtos (= Leaper) a stone tablet bearing hieroglyphic letters. The writing said 'This river Leaper will leap some bad leaps for the citizens'.
He died in an unlucky manner after nine years of reign.

71 Justinian. The emperor Justinian was exceptional in all sorts of opposite things, i. e. good and bad things. To his credit: he built a church for the Wisdom of God, such as no other emperor before or after him achieved. He enacted practical laws, he founded strong cities or provided existing ones with walls, he constructed shorter and better roads to the barbarian lands and he surrounded himself with the best scholars of his age. Advancing upon his adversaries he often had the opportunity to erect trophies at the expense of the defeated. He expelled Severus the Acephal from the church by convening a synod at Constantinople, of course. That is what he should be praised for, now the opposite: he invented yet unknown forms of punishment. For those who had committed disgusting sins, especially male homoerotics, he had their pudenda cut off in public with a knife or had sharpened reeds put in their openings. Once, when people in the hippodrome just opposite the imperial box were rioting, he withdrew at that moment from the theatre. Later, he announced new horseraces, and seeing the public gathered he ordered his guardsmen to kill them all. The apex of his outrages was, however, that he in a situation of ecclesiastical peace caused disturbance of the dogma on corruptibility and incorruptibility. And whereas he should have listened to more competent and orthodox people, he obstinately formulated, contrary to the dogma, that the Lord's body was incorruptible from the time of conception and without changing his mind about the theory he had adopted, he quitted life having conferred the diadem on his nephew Justin. He reigned thirty-nine years. No less blasphemous was his sickly submissiveness to

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53 Ἰουστῖνος ὁ Θρᾷξ ὁ μέγας: eadem connectio in Ecl. Hist. 318,18. **56–59** *vide comm.* **59–60** *vide comm.* **60–63** *vide comm.* **80–82** τὸ περὶ φθαρτοῦ καὶ ἀφθάρτου δόγμα ἐκίνησε: ≂ Theoph. 240,31–241,1 τὸ περὶ φθαρτοῦ καὶ ἀφθάρτου κινήσας δόγμα = Ecl. Hist. 323,23–24 = Cedr. I 680,5, Anon. Sath. 100,22. *Vide* et *comm.* **84** ἐξ αὐτῆς ἑνώσεως: cf. Zon. III 173,10 ἅμα τῇ προσλήψει.

τούτου Βελισάριος ὁ στρατηγικώτατος ἐπιφανὴς ἐπὶ πολλοῖς τροπαίοις ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ κίων ἔστη τοῦ Αὐγουστίωνος, ἐν ᾧ ἔφιππος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ κεχάλκευται. Ἀποφθέγματα Ἰουστινιανοῦ.

Τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰουστινιανῷ δύο ποτὲ ἀγγελιῶν κομισθεισῶν ἀπὸ δυοῖν στρατοπέδων κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, χαροπῶν τε καὶ σκυθρωπῶν, πρὸς μὲν τὸν δεξιὸν ἀγγελιαφόρον ἐνατενίσας ἐστύγνασε 'δέδια' εἰρηκὼς 'τὴν τῆς τύχης μεταβολήν'· πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἐπαρίστερον χαροπώτερον ἐπιστραφεὶς εἰρήκει· 'θαρρῶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς τύχης μεταβολῇ', τὰ αὐτὰ τέλη τῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων ἑτέρως εἰπών.

Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς πρὸς τοὺς καταιτιωμένους αὐτόν, ὅτι τὴν αἰδῶ τῶν ἀρρενοφθόρων τέμνειν διέγνωκεν, 'εἰ δὲ ἱερά' φησι 'σεσυλήκασιν, οὐκ ἂν τὴν χεῖρα ἀπέτεμον;'

Ὁ αὐτὸς κατάκριτόν τινα θεασάμενος γενναίως πρὸς τὰς παρὰ τῶν δημίων πληγὰς ἑστηκότα 'μὴ πρὸς τὰς παρὰ τῶν δημίων' ἔφη 'οὕτως ⟨στῇς⟩ πληγάς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων.' Οὗτος ἐν τῷ νοσεῖν οὐ ταχὺ κατεκλίνετο· 'πῶς γὰρ ἄν' φησι 'σταίην πρὸς τὰς παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων πληγάς;'

72 ⟨Ἰ⟩ουστῖνος ὁ μικρός. Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνεψιὸς ὢν τοῦ μεγάλου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἠθῶν ἐκείνου μεμίμηται, τὰ δὲ ὑπερεβάλετο. Τὴν μέντοιγε ἵδρυσιν τοῦ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων νεὼ ἡττᾶται περιφανῶς Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ τὴν Ἁγίαν Σοφίαν οἰκοδομήσαντος. Εἰρηνικὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ὢν εἴπερ ἄλλος τις ἐπὶ πᾶσι πράγμασι κἀπὶ ταῖς δίκαις αὐταῖς οὐ τῇ τοῦ δικαίου ἀκριβείᾳ τοσοῦτον ἐστοίχει, ὅσον τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ τοῦ πράγματος. Ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὁ ἐκτομίας Ναρσῆς κατορθώματα κατὰ βαρβάρων ἐπεποίηκει πολλά. Τιβέριον δὲ στρατηλάτην πολλάκις κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀνδραγαθήσαντα καίσαρα
271r ἀνηγόρευσεν. | Εἶτα δὴ νοσήσας καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπογνοὺς αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν Τιβέριον τῆς βασιλείας καταξιοῖ καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιτίθησιν. Εἶτα δὴ ἡμέρας τινὰς ἐπιβιοὺς τελευτᾷ βασιλεύσας ἔτη τρισκαίδεκα.

Ἔλεγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος, ὅτι 'συγγνωστὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς σφαλεὶς ἐπί τινι πράγματι, εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ αὖθις σφαλείη, ἀσύγγνωστος'.

Ὁ αὐτὸς τὰς τιμωρίας τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἐλάττους ἀεὶ ποιῶν 'πῶς ἄν' φησι 'τοὺς ἁμαρτήσαντας νικήσωμεν, εἰ μὴ φιλανθρωπότερον τούτους τιμωρησαίμεθα;'

87–88 ἐπὶ τοῦτω **88** Βελλισάριος, vide autem ms. E Zonarae, ubi constanter nomen duplicibus λ est scriptum ἐπιφανεὶς **7** ⟨στῇς⟩ addidi compar. l. 8 πολέμων **11** Ἰουστίνου correxi compar. Ecl. Hist. 324,21 **14** εἴπερ ἄλλος τις : ἤπερ ἄλλό τις

2–4 cf. Zon. III 159,1–3 καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐρόμενον „διὰ τί ταύτῃ τοὺς ἀρρενοφθόρους κολάζεις;“ ἔφη ”εἰ δ' ἄρα ἱεροσυλήκασιν, οὐκ ἂν τὴν χεῖρα τούτων ἀπέτεμον;“ **16–17** ὁ ἐκτομίας Ναρσῆς: cf. Zon. III 169,8 (Justiniano regnante) ἦν δὲ ὁ Ναρσῆς ἐκτομίας, ἄλλως

women. During his reign Belisarius proved his best general and was honored with many trophies. And at the Augusteum the column was erected, where upon a bronze of the emperor on horseback.

Sayings of Justinian.

The emperor Justinian once received on the same day two messages from two army camps. One message was joyful, the other mournful. He looked at the favourable messenger with a grim eye and said: "I fear a change of fortune", but he showed himself more joyous toward the unfavourable one, saying: "I hope for a change of fortune", using in his sayings the same ending with different significance.

To those who criticised the same emperor for his order to cut off the parts of homoerotics he said: "But do I not cut off the hand of a church-robber?" When the same once saw a condemned one, who bravely endured the blows of the executioners, he said: "one should not ignore the blows of the executioners, but should bear the blows of the enemies thus bravely!" Even when ill he did not soon go to bed: "how should I otherwise be able", were his words, "to withstand the blows of the barbarians!".

72 Justinus the younger. Being a nephew of the great Justinian this emperor not only imitated his behaviour, he sometimes proved even better. As to the construction, however, of the church of the Holy Apostles, he was clearly inferior to Justinian who built the Hagia Sofia. But this emperor, if anyone, was peace-loving on all counts and even in matters of justice he did not aim so much at the mere accuracy of judgement as at the real result.

During the reign of this emperor the eunuch Narses scored many successes against the barbarians. But he appointed as caesar the general Tiberius because of his frequently demonstrated bravery against his adversaries. Later on, being ill and despairing his salvation, he judged the same Tiberius worth the empire and granted him the diadem. He still lived for a number of days and then died after a reign of thirteen years.

This emperor used to say: "though an emperor may be forgiven for failing in an affair, a second failure in the same affair is unpardonable".

The same always reduced punishment for offences saying: "how shall we ever vanquish evil unless we punish the evildoers in a more humane way?".

μέντοι γενναῖός τε καὶ στρατηγικώτατος κτλ.; Proc. VI 14,16 ὁ δὲ Ναρσῆς οὗτος εὐνοῦχος μὲν ἦν ..., ἄλλως δὲ ὀξὺς καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ᾽ εὐνοῦχον δραστήριος. Agath. I 16,1 (30,4 Ke.) ἦν γὰρ ὁ Ναρσῆς ἔμφρων ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δραστήριος καὶ δεινὸς ἁρμόσασθαι τῷ παρεμπίπτοντι ... καὶ ταῦτα τομίας γε ὢν ... *Vide* et *comm.* **17–19** Τιβέριον ... ἀνηγόρευσεν: cf. Ecl. Hist. 326,17 καὶ Τιβέριον ἰδιοποιησάμενος (sic et Anon. Sath. 103,24–25; leg. autem υἱο-π. (?), cf. Theoph. 247,28, Cedr. I 685,6, Zon. III 178,5–6) διὰ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας αὐτοῦ Καίσαρα ἀνηγόρευσε. **24–34** *vide comm.*

Ὁ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἐπαιρομένους τῶν βασιλέων ἐπί τε τῷ κάλλει τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῷ τῆς κεφαλῆς διαδήματι ἀγνοεῖν ἔφασκε τούτους, ὅτι λίθοι εἰσὶ τὰ περιβλήματα ταῦτα καὶ σηρῶν νήματα, τοὺς δὲ ἠλλοιωμένους ἐπὶ τῇ λαμπροτέρᾳ τῆς τύχης μεταβολῇ φρενιτιῶντας ὠνόμαζεν ὡς ἐπιλελησμένους τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως.

Ὁ αὐτὸς ἔλεγε δεῖν τὸν βασιλέα μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς θριάμβοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τρόποις λαμπρύνεσθαι, μηδὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τιμωρίαις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις τὴν βασιλικὴν δύναμιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι.

73 Τιβέριος. Τιβέριον τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ ταὐτοῦ πράγματος ἐπαινεῖν καὶ ψέγειν δυνηθείη ἄν τις. Οὗτος γυναῖκα ἔχων Ἀναστασίαν ὄνομα ὑπέσχετο Σοφίᾳ τῇ γαμετῇ Ἰουστίνου, ὡς εἰ πείσει τὸν ἄνδρα βασιλέα τοῦτον ποιήσασθαι ἤδη πρὸς τῷ θανεῖν ὄντα, ἀλλάξαιτο τὸν ταύτης γάμον τῆς οἰκείας γυναικός. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ἀναστασίας τὰ λέκτρα τῶν τῆς Σοφίας προετίμησε. Ῥήτωρ οὖν ἀνὴρ καὶ ψέξειε τοῦτον ὡς τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ψευσάμενον καὶ ἐπαινέσειεν ὡς διασωσάμενον τὴν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα διάθεσιν. Ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄφθονός τε καὶ ἀνεπίφθονος. Ἐγάννυτο οὖν εὐεργετῶν καὶ τοῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων ἀνδραγαθήμασιν ἐσεμνύνετο. Μαυρίκιον οὖν στρατηλάτην τότε τυγχάνοντα καὶ πολλὰς νίκας κατὰ βαρβάρων ἀνῃρημένον γαμβρὸν ἐποιήσατο ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνᾳ τῇ θυγατρί, εἶτα καὶ τελευτῶν βασιλέα ποιεῖ ἄνδρα γενναῖον μὲν καὶ σώφρονα, φιλοχρήματον δέ. Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔτη πέντε.

Ἀποφθέγματα Τιβερίου.

Ἔλεγε Τιβέριος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μὴ δεῖν βασιλέα ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα, ἵνα μὴ τῶν πραγμάτων καταπεσόντων ψεύστης ἀποδειχθείη.

Ὁ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὐ χρὴ τὸν βασιλέα πέρα τοῦ μετρίου εὐεργετεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιλειπόντων αὐτῷ τοῦ εὐεργετοῦντος δέηται.

Εἴωθε λέγειν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς ἦν, τὸν ἰδιώτην ἂν εἵλετο βίον· εἰ γὰρ ἄδοξον, ἀλλ' ἀκίνδυνον.

Ὁ αὐτὸς κατηγόρει πολλάκις τῆς τύχης ὡς ἀγνώμονος· δεξιῶς γὰρ ταύτῃ χρησάμενος, ἐν πολλοῖς ἐγνώκει δυσμενῆ καὶ ἐπαρίστερον.

Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς εὐτυχῶν μὲν ἠγάλλετο, δυστυχῶν δὲ οὐκ ἠνιᾶτο λέγων δεῖν πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι μὲν ἀγαθοῖς εὐφραίνεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐφεστηκόσι κακοῖς μὴ ἀνιᾶσθαι, τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα ἑαυτῷ προβαλλόμενον.

Οὗτος ἀδείας οὔσης ἐγυμνάζετο τὴν ψυχὴν ὄμβροις καὶ θάλπει ταλαιπωρούμενος, 'ἵν' ἔχοιμί' φησι 'τούτοις ὡς συνήθεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης κεχρῆσθαι.'

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29 ἀλλοιομένους **30** ὀνόμαζεν **35** Τιβέριος : in margine, prima manu **45** ἀνηρημένων **62** τούτους

Those emperors who were proud of the beauty of their luxuries and the diadem on their heads did not realise, as he often said, that these garments were no more than stones and the threads of silkworms, but those who altered their behaviour after the turn to a more splendid fortune were styled by him as men suffering from frenzy, who had forgotten how they were born.
The same used to say that the emperor should distinguish himself not by triumphs, but by good habits; neither should he demonstrate imperial power by punishments, but by benefits.

73 Tiberius. One might praise as well as blame the emperor Tiberius for the same thing. Being married to a woman called Anastasia, he promised Sofia, Justinus' wife, that he would place her in the position of his own wife, if she proved able to persuade her dying husband to appoint him emperor. But when he had become emperor he preferred Anastasia's bed to Sofia's. Thus a lawyer might blame him for having neglected his promises, and, at the same time praise him for having preserved his relation to his wife. And the man was neither jealous nor provoking jealousy. He enjoyed doing good and felt proud of the successes of his subjects. At that time there was a general named Mauricius who had won many victories against the barbarians; this man he made his son-in-law by marrying him to his daughter Constantina, and at the end of his life he made him emperor, for he was, indeed, brave and prudent, albeit greedy as well. He, Tiberius, reigned five years.
Sayings of Tiberius.
The autocrat Tiberius used to say that an emperor should never guarantee future developments: things might go wrong and prove him a liar. He also would say that an emperor should not be excessively beneficent, in order to avoid requiring beneficence in time of need. It was a usual expression of this emperor that he should have preferred to be a common citizen, had he not been emperor: if without fame, then without risk.
The same often blamed fortune for being unfair. For having taken advantage of her favour, he could not help deeming her hostile and unfavourable in many respects.
The same emperor enjoyed success, but did not take offence at failure saying that everybody should be happy with favourable circumstances, but should feel no distress at bad luck: on the contrary, he should keep good hope. By suffering hardships in rain and heat, he trained his spirit in time of security to be, as he said, accustomed to these in case of necessity.

43—45 cf. Zon. III 182,8 = Ecl. Hist. 328,18, Cedr. I 690,20, cf. Theoph. 252,1—2.

74 Ἀποφθέγματα Μαυρικίου.

Εἴωθε λέγειν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς τὰ χρήματα σῴζει τὸν βασιλεύοντα. Προϋποκεῖσθαι γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ εἰς πολέμων παρασκευὴν καὶ εἰς φίλων εὐνοίας ἀμοιβήν.

Ὁ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἀναλίσκοντας τὰ πατρῷα πατραλοίας ὠνόμαζεν ὡς τὰ τῶν πατρῴων ἀπολλύντας χρήματα.

Ὁ βασιλεὺς Μαυρίκιος ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ στρατιώτην φεύγοντα μηδενὸς διώκοντος 'στῆθι' ἔφη 'καὶ ζήσῃ.'

⟨Ὁ⟩ αὐτὸς τοὺς ταχέως ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τὰ νῶτα μεταβαλόντας ἔφασκε μὴ ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ προβουλεύματος.

Ὁ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν στρατιώτην πολλοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ βέλεσι καὶ ἀκοντίοις χρώμενον 'ποτέρῳ' ἔφησεν 'ἀκοντιεῖς ἢ πότερον ἀποτοξεύσεις ἐπὶ τὸν ἐχθρόν;'

Μαυρίκιος. Γαμβρὸς Τιβερίου τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ Μαυρίκιος, ἀνὴρ μεγαλόφρων μὲν καὶ στρατηγικός, ἐναντίᾳ δὲ τῇ τύχῃ διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν χρησάμενος, ὡς ὁ λόγος ἐρεῖ προϊών. Ἐνίκησε μὲν πολέμους πολλοὺς κατὰ Περσῶν τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ κινήσας στρατόπεδα. Ἀντάραντας δὲ αὐτῷ ποτε τοὺς στρατιώτας ⟨παρέδωκε⟩ τῷ ἀρχηγῷ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοπέδου (Χαγάνος δὲ ὁ γενναιότατος ἦν), τούτου δὲ γενομένου γράφει τῷ Χαγάνῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφήσειν ἅπαν τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν δορυάλωτον. Ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τὸ πρῶτον λύτρα τούτων ἐπιζητῶν, ὕστερον ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθένα ἕνα χρύσινον ἐπεζήτησεν, εἶθ' ὕστερον τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ νομίσματος. Μηδέτερον δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ φειδωλίας δεξαμένου ἅπαντας τοὺς ἑαλωκότας ὁ Χαγάνος διεχειρίσατο. Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ ἀποκτανθέντες χιλιάδες δυοκαίδεκα. Τοῦ δὲ κακοῦ τούτου συντελεσθέντος εἰδὼς ὁ Μαυρίκιος, ὡς οὐκ ἀτιμώρητος ἔσται ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασεν, ἐξελιπάρει τὸν θεὸν ἐνταῦθα τὴν δίκην τῶν εἰργασμένων λήψεσθαι. Ὅθεν καὶ ὀπτασίας αὐτῷ ἐπιγενομένης νυκτὸς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ὥσπερ ἐπ' ὄψεσιν εἰρηκότος· 'ἐν ποίῳ καιρῷ βούλει τιμωρηθῆναι, Μαυρίκιε;', 'ἐν τῷ παρόντι', ἔφησε, 'Κύριε'. Ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Χριστὸς τοῖς περιεστηκόσιν εἰρήκει· 'παράδοτε αὐτὸν Φωκᾷ τῷ στρατιώτῃ'. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Φωκᾶς οὗτος δεινὸς μὲν τὰ πολέμια, δυσμενὴς δὲ τὴν ψυχήν. Χρησμοῦ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν κατενεχθέντος ὡς 'ὁ τυραννήσων καὶ βασιλεύσων τὸ Φ στοιχεῖον τοῦ ὀνόματος ἔχει προτεταγμένον' ἐμηνία Φιλιππικῷ τῷ γαμβρῷ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸν ὄνειρον σπένδεται. Ὁ δὲ στρατιώτης Φωκᾶς ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ Μαυρικίου γενόμενος δεσμεῖ τοῦτον καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπ'

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64 Mirum videtur quod series apophthegmatum Mauricii descriptioni regni eius praecedit, quae res auctorem e collectione apophthegmatum imperatorum separata hausisse indicet **72** Ὁ αὐτὸς: littera O a miniatore omissa scriptum autem invenies spiritum asperum **81** παρέδωκε: complevi compar. Theoph. Conf. 278,34. Possis προὔδωκε vel ὑπέθετο προδοῦναι compar. Ecl. Hist. 329, 25–26 **82** Χάγανος: vide ad 87 ubi ms. et ipse habet Χαγάνος. De accentu vide Theophyl. Sim. ed. De Boor indicem, Theof. Conf., Zon. etc.

74 Sayings of Maurice.

This emperor used to say that money saves the emperor. For money is a fundamental requisite both for war-equipment and for rewarding well-disposed friends.

The same called one who squandered his father's fortune a parricide because of his destroying forefatherly goods.

Once in a battle the emperor Maurice saw a soldier running away though he was pursued by nobody and said: "stand and you shall live".

The same often said that those who soon turned tail in battle acted more with malice aforethought than driven by force majeure.

When the same saw a soldier who used a great quantity of arrows and spears in combat, he said: "what do you think you are doing? Would you harass the enemy by shooting spears or by throwing arrows?"

Maurice. He, Maurice, was emperor Tiberius' son-in-law, very clever and general-like, indeed, but unfortunate because of his greediness, as will become clear from my story. He won many battles after moving the Roman armies against the Persians. But when his soldiers once had mutinied against him ⟨he delivered them up⟩ to the general of the barbarian army (this was Chaganos, a very brave man), and after this had happened the emperor wrote to Chaganos asking him to set the whole captured Roman army free again. Chaganos began by asking a high ransom for their freedom, then he demanded one gold coin a head, later on half a coin. But the emperor's parsimony prevented him from accepting a single one of the conditions, and therefore Chaganos had all the prisoners killed. The killed numbered twelve thousand. This evil accomplished, Maurice realised he would certainly be punished for what he had done, and he beseeched God to wreak justice on him already in this world for his deeds. Yes, even a vision appeared to him in the night, and he saw as it were God himself who said: "at which time do you want to be punished, Maurice?", and he answered: "in my lifetime, my Lord". Thereupon Christ ordered the bystanders: "deliver him up to Phocas, the soldier!" Indeed, this Phocas was formidable at war, but hostile in his heart. Now, Maurice had received an oracle that said: "he who will usurp the throne and will be emperor, he bears a name that begins with 'Ph' ". So he was wroth against his brother-in-law Philippikos, but having seen the vision he became reconciled with him. When, however, Phocas the soldier had laid hands on Maurice, he put him in irons and first, before his very eyes, killed all his children, at

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71 allusio ad N. T. Luc. 10,28 τοῦτο ποίει καὶ ζήσῃ **86** διὰ φειδωλίας: cf. Zon. III 193,1 ἐκ φειδωλίας. *Vide comm.* ad 80 **90** ὀπτασία: eodem vocabulo usi sunt Theoph. 285,4 et Joh. Antioch. frg. 218 d, cf. Man. 3583 ὀπτάνεται κατ' ὄναρ. **91–93** *vide comm.* **93–94** *vide comm.*

ὀφθαλμοῖς τούτου τὰς οἰκείας γονὰς ἀναιρεῖ, ἐπὶ τῇ σφαγῇ ἑκάστου λέγοντος 'δίκαιος εἶ, Κύριε, καὶ δικαία ἡ κρίσις σου'. Ἔπειτα καὶ αὐτὸς
271v τὴν κεφαλὴν | τέμνεται βασιλεύσας ἔτη εἴκοσι.

75 Φωκᾶς ὁ τύραννος. Οὐκ ἔλαβε κόρον ὁ τύραννος οὗτος ἐφ' οἷς τὸν βασιλέα Μαυρίκιον ἐτιμωρήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα εὑρηκὼς ὕστερον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς ἅπαν διώλεσεν. Ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ ὠμότησι καὶ ἀπανθρωπίαις πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἐχρήσατο, ὥστε ἀναγκασθῆναι τούτους καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ μέσου θεάτρου κατηγορεῖν. Ἐτόλμησαν δέ ποτε καὶ τὰς δημοσίας ἀνοῖξαι φυλακὰς καὶ φανερὰν ἐπιβουλὴν ἀρτύσασθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ. Κρίσπος δὲ ὁ πατρίκιος γαμβρὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἄκρας ὠμότητος βδελυξάμενος μεταστέλλεται Ἡράκλειον ἐν Ἀφρικῇ στρατηγοῦντα, ὅπως ἀνέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον μετὰ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἐξελὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς τιμωρήσηται. Καὶ γίνεται οὕτω θεοῦ κινήσαντος. Καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξελαθεὶς ὁ Φωκᾶς τιμωρεῖται παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ μελαγχίτων παρίσταται, πρὸς ὃν ὁ Ἡράκλειος 'οὕτω, τύραννε, τὴν βασιλείαν κατέστησας ἰδιωτικῶς' ἔφη· ὁ δὲ ἰταμῶς 'σὺ δὲ κάλλιον ἂν καταστήσειας;' Ἐφ' οἷς κατατέμνεται ἔτη βασιλεύσας ὀκτώ.

Ἀποφθέγματα τοῦ τυραννικοῦ Φωκᾶ.

Εἴωθε λέγειν ὁ τύραννος Φωκᾶς, ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς νόμοις πειθόμενος οὐδὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν διενήνοχεν.

Ὁ αὐτὸς δικαστῶν κατὰ νόμους ἀποφηναμένων περί τινος πράγματος, ὡς αὐτὸς οὐκ ἠβούλετο, 'μὴ κατὰ τοὺς κοινοὺς νόμους', ἔφησεν, 'ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἐμοὺς τρόπους δικάζετε. Παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν νόμων οὐδὲν ἂν εὕρητε οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακόν, παρὰ δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐξουσίας δυεῖν θάτερον ἢ τιμωρηθήσεσθε ἢ εὐεργετηθήσεσθε.'

Ὁ αὐτὸς κολαζομένους μέν, δακρύοντας δέ, δειλοὺς καὶ ἀπολέμους ὠνόμαζε καὶ πρὸς μάχην οὐκ εὐπρεπεῖς.

Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς τὰς σωματικὰς ἡδονὰς μάλιστα προσήκειν τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἔλεγεν ὡς δυνατῷ πάντα καὶ ποιήσασθαι καὶ παθεῖν.

Οὗτος τὸν ἐπικλώμενον ἐπὶ δάκρυσι δένδρῳ εἴκαζεν ἑτοίμως ῥηγνυμένῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος.

76 Ἡράκλειος ὁ μέγας. Ἐπὶ βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου μέγα οἱ Πέρσαι ἰσχύσαντες Δαμασκὸν εἷλον καὶ Παλαιστίνην, Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ Λιβύην

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19 ἰταμῶς : ἰστακῶς **25** κατὰ : καί, sed forsitan legendum sit κατὰ ⟨τοὺς⟩ νόμους ἀποφηνάμενον **26** ἠβούλετο : post corr. ex ἐβούλετο **27** ἐμοὺς : post corr. ex ἐμὰς δικάζεται

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5 δίκαιος ... σου: cf. Psalm. 118,136: δίκαιος εἶ, Κύριε, καὶ εὐθεῖς αἱ κρίσεις σου. Theoph. 290,5, Zon. III 197,3 = Psalmus; Cedr. I 706,23 δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις; textus = Theophyl. Sim. VIII 11,13, Georg. Mon. 663,1, Ecl. Hist. 332,16–17. **7–9** cf. Georg. Mon. 664,2 sqq., Ecl. Hist. 332,24–28, Zon. III 199,13. **13** Κρίσπος: idem habent nomen Ecl. Hist.

whose slaughter the emperor said each time: "righteous art thou, O Lord, and upright are thy judgements". Thereafter he was beheaded himself, having reigned twenty years.

75 The tyrant Phokas. This tyrant did not become satiated by the punishments he forced the emperor Maurice to suffer, no, later he also found out where his wife was and killed her; in this way he wiped out his whole family. His cruelty and inhuman deeds against the citizens reached the point that they felt obliged to accuse him both in the marketplace and in the theatre. Once they even dared to open the state prisons and to organise an open attack on him. The patrician Crispus, his son-in-law, who loathed his extreme cruelty, summoned the commander-in-chief of Africa, Heraclius, to come to Byzantium with the whole fleet in order to expel the tyrant from the throne and to punish him. And thus it happened under God's instigation. Chased away from the throne Phokas was punished by the citizens, and clothed in black he appeared before Heraclius, who said to him: "was this your amateurish way, tyrant, to handle the empire?", on which Phokas answered shamelessly: "you may perhaps handle it more professionally?" Upon these words he was beheaded after eight years of reign.
Sayings of the tyrannous Phokas.
The tyrant Phokas used to say that obedience to the law would not distinct the emperor from the common citizens. The same said to judges who passed judgement in a particular case according to the law, but against his own view: "don't fashion your judgement according to the common laws, but according to my custom! For from the laws you will receive nothing, either positive or negative, but from my power you may expect either punishment or else benefit".
The same qualified as cowards, unwarlike and unworthy for fighting, those who cried when punished.
The same emperor often said that physical pleasures were first of all prerogatives of the emperor as being capable to undertake and to undergo everything.
He also compared someone who knuckled under at tears with a tree at the point of breaking under the storm.

76 Heraclius the Great. During the reign of Heraclius, the Persians rose to great power and they took Damascus and Palestine, Egypt, Libya and

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333,29, Cedr. I 711,19. Nomen Prisci indicat Theoph. 295,26, necnon Anon. Sath. 107,15 et Zon. III 201,7, ubi autem mss. CE nomen Crispi notaverunt. Cf. et Georg. Mon. 668,3. **17–20** cf. Georg. Mon. 665,14 sqq., Ecl. Hist. 334,4–8, Cedr. I 712,23–713,3, Zon. III 202,20–203,4, Glyk. 511,12. **36–38** ≈ Ecl. Hist. 335,8–13 Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι παρέλαβον τὴν Καππαδοκίαν καὶ τὴν Δαμασκὸν καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν ...· ὡσαύτως παρέλαβον Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην καὶ ἕως Αἰθιοπίας· ἦλθον δὲ καὶ ἕως Καλχηδόνος καὶ ταύτην παρέλαβον. Cf. Theoph. 300, 20, 30, 301, 9–10, Cedr. I 714, 11, 24, 715,7–8, 16–17.

καὶ Αἰθιοπίαν. Ἐληΐσαντο δὲ Συρίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν καὶ μέχρι Καλχηδόνος ἐπεξελάσαντες πολέμῳ ταύτην παρέλαβον. Χοσρόης δὲ τηνικαῦτα τῶν Περσῶν ἀρχηγὸς ἐγνωρίζετο, ἀνὴρ καὶ τὴν μεγαλαυχίαν πολὺς καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν βαθὺς καὶ εἴπερ τις ἄλλος πολεμικώτατος. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σπένδεται τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἡρακλείῳ αἰτησαμένῳ εἰρήνην, ἀλλ' ἀπόφημά τινα πρὸς αὐτὸν φθέγγεται. Οὐ τὰ τῆς ἕω δὲ μόνον εἶχε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις κακῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἑσπέρας χαλεπῶς. Ἐπεστράτευσαν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ἀβάρεις κατὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τούτους μὲν ὅπως δύναιτο τοῦ τυραννεῖν ἔπαυσε. Χοσρόης δὲ ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Σάιτον μὲν πρῶτον εἶθ' ὕστερον Σάρβαρον τὴν Ἀσίαν ληϊσομένους ἀπέστειλε, Ἡράκλειος δὲ πάντοθεν στενούμενος καὶ διαπορούμενος ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν ἐλπίσιν ἑαυτὸν παραθέμενος καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἀτιμάσας μέλασιν ὑποδήμασι στρατεύει κατὰ Περσῶν, πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν σύμμαχα ἑαυτῷ ποιησάμενος. Καὶ ναυτικὴν δὲ δύναμιν παρασκευασάμενος πλῷ χρῆται διὰ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς Χοσρόου ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῷ θυμῷ δικαίῳ χωρεῖ. Ἑπτὰ δὲ ὅλα ἔτη τὸν κατὰ Περσῶν ἀράμενος πόλεμον, πολλὰς μὲν ἐποιήσατο συμβολάς, πολλοῖς δὲ ἐχρήσατο μηχανήμασιν, ἐν οἷς τὰ πλείω μὲν κατώρθου, ἔστι δ' ἃ καὶ ἠτύχει. Ἐτρώθη δὲ καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς τοῦ σώματος μέρεσι, τέλος δὲ γίνεταί τι τοιοῦτον. Νόμου παρὰ Πέρσαις ὄντος τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων τοῦ βασιλεύοντος εἰς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς βασιλείαν καθίστασθαι, Χοσρόης τὸν νεώτερον ἀνάγει πρὸς τὴν ἀρχήν. Ἐφ' οἷς μηνίσας ὁ παροφθεὶς δεσμεῖ τε τὸν πατέρα καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἀναιρεῖ, τὸν παῖδα Μαρδασᾶν, ὃν ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐπ' ὄψεσιν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἀνελών. Σειρόης δὲ (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρεσβύτερος) ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος σπένδεται πρὸς Ἡράκλειον καὶ φιλίας δεσμοὺς τίθεται. Ὑποστρέφοντι δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος τροπαιοφόρῳ ἀπαντᾷ Μωάμεθ, ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν φύλαρχος, ἐκ τῆς Αἰθρίβου ἐπανελθών. Καὶ χώραν αἰτησάμενος εἰς κατοίκησιν τετύχηκε τῆς ἐφέσεως. Ὃς πρόφασιν πλούτου ἐκ γυναικὸς εὑρηκὼς τὸ ἔθνος σοφίζεται. Καὶ δυνάμεις ἑαυτῷ ποιησάμενος πρῶτα μὲν τὴν Συρίαν ληΐζεται, ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων δῃοῦν ἤρξατο.

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39 Καρχηδόνος *vide comm.* et ad 42,59 **45** Ἄμαρεις littera secunda revera formam habet litterae my, non secundariam u = β. Possis autem Ἄβαρες, cp. Cedr. I 714,14 aut Ἄβαρεις cp. Theoph. Conf. 300,1 (De Boor, in ms. sine accentu) **46** τοῦ : τῶ **47** ληισαμένους **51** διὰ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου scripsi compar. Ecl. Hist. 336,31 : τὸν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντον **56** παρὰ : περὶ **60** αὐτοῦ : αὐτῷ (?) **65** αἰτησώμενος ἀφέσεως **66** ποιησόμενος

44–45 ≂ Ecl. Hist. 335,17–18 ἐπεστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀβάρεις κατὰ τῆς πόλεως **46** Σάιτον: eandem nominis formam habent Ecl. Hist. 336,1 et 8, et Georg. Mon. 668,13; 669,1; cf. 668,20 (Chron. Pasch. I 706,12, Cedr. I 718,6 Σάην, Theoph. 306,30 Σάϊν). **47** εἶθ' ὕστερον ... ἀπέστειλε: cf. Ecl. Hist. 336,12–14 Εἶτα πάλιν Χοσρόης ἀπέστειλεν ... Σάρβαρον, ὃς ... ἦλθε πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίαν, τὴν γῆν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ληϊζόμενος ≈ Cedr. I 718,17 **49** τοὺς πόδας ἀτιμάσας μέλασιν ὑποδήμασι: cf. Ecl. Hist. 336,19 μέλανα ὑποδήματα περιβαλόμενος et Georg. Pisid. 27 μελαμβαφὲς πέδιλον εἰλίξας πόδας, cf. Cedr. I 718,22, 719,4. **50** cf. Ecl. Hist. 336,31–32 προσλαβόμενος εἰς συμμαχίαν πλῆθος Τούρκων, καὶ

Ethiopia. They plundered both Syria and Cappadocia and even pushed on to Chalcedon which they took by force. For at that time Chosroes was the famous leader of the Persians, a very arrogant man of base wickedness and incomparably warlike. He showed not the slightest willingness to accept Heraclius' offer for peace; instead, his answer comprised only some blasphemous proposals. But not only the eastern part was in a desperate situation for the Romans, also the conditions at the western part were unfavourable. For there the Avars marched against the city, but he managed as well as possible to stop their tyranny. Chosroes, however, the Persian king, sent out first Saītus, and after him Sarbarus to plunder Asia, and Heraclius, oppressed and desperate, set all his hopes on God, put his feet into dishonourable black foot-wear and advanced on the Persians with a great number of tribes whom he had made allies. He also built up a sea-force, sailed by way of the Black Sea, took the generals of Chosroes prisoner, and marched with just anger against Chosroes himself. Seven full years he fought the war against the Persians, in which he waged many battles and made use of a choice of war-engines. He was mostly successful, sometimes he was beaten. He incurred a great number of wounds in many parts of his body, but the end came in the following way. There is a law among the Persians that the king is succeeded by the eldest of his sons, but Chosroes raised his youngest son to the kingship. The rejected son became so angry about this course of affairs that he imprisoned his father and had him killed shortly thereafter, having put to death before his eyes his son Marsadas, whom he had made king. Thus Siroës (as the eldest son was called) came to power and he concluded peace with Heraclius and forged ties of friendship with him. But on his victorious way home the emperor met with Mohammed, the tribal chief of the Saracenes, who had come from Yathrib. This man asked for the concession to found a colony and he was granted it. He was it also who, having become a well-to-do man through his wife, then started to beguile his people. He provided himself with troops, plundered first Syria and began after that to devastate Roman lands.

ἄλλων ἐθνῶν πλήθη ≈ Cedr. I 719,8. **50–52** cf. Ecl. Hist. 336,30 κατὰ Περσῶν ἐστράτευσε μετὰ πλοίων διὰ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου = Cedr. I 719,7 **53** ἑπτὰ δὲ ὅλα ἔτη: cf. Ecl. Hist. 337,30 κατασφάζων τὴν πᾶσαν Περσίδα ἐν ἔτεσιν ἕξ, τῷ δὲ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει τὰ τίμια ξύλα ἀπὸ Περσίδος ἀναλαβών, ...; cf. etiam Theoph. 328,1, Georg. Mon. 672,10–11, Anon. Sath. 108,8 sqq. **58** τὸν νεώτερον: cf. Cedr. I 734,5 τὸν ὕστατον υἱὸν **59–61** δεσμεῖ ... ἀνελών: cf. Theoph. 326,25 τοῦτον δὲ δεσμήσαντες – 327,5 sqq., Zon. III 211,5 δεσμεῖ τε τοῦτον ... (8) εἶτα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Μερδασάν ..., ἀνεῖλε πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ ... καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν κἀκεῖνον. Cf. etiam Chron. Pasch. 728,21, Man. 3732–34. **61** Σειρόης: Theoph. 326,9 etc. Σιρόης = Cedr., Man., Zon.; Σειροίης Chron. Pasch., cf. Σειρώης in ms. h Theoph. **62–65** ≂ Zon. III 214,1–2, cf. Ecl. Hist. 337,30–338,4. De Mahometo ceteroqui Theoph. 333,1 sqq., Georg. Mon. 697,12 sqq., Cedr. I 738,3 sqq. **66** τὸ ἔθνος σοφίζεται: cf. Zon. III 215,11–12 ... τὸ ἔθνος ἅπαν κατασοφισάμενος ... **67** τὴν Συρίαν ληΐζεται: cf. Zon. III 215,12–13 ... τὴν Συρίαν κατέδραμέ τε καὶ ἐληίσατο ...

Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου ἀρκεῖ ταῦτα. Ἡράκλειος δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανελθὼν πρῶτα μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν μονοθελητῶν δόξαν ἐξεπεπτώκει, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν ἀνεψιὰν γήμας Μαρτῖναν παιδίον ἐξ αὐτῆς τίκτει καὶ Ἡρακλωνᾶν ὀνομάζει καὶ τελευτῶν βασιλέα ποιεῖ τῶν ἑτέρων υἱέων καταφρονήσας. Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ἔτη τριάκοντα.

Ἀποφθέγματα Ἡρακλείου.

Ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡράκλειος οὐκ ἔλεγε δεῖν θυμοῦσθαι τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ πραότητι μεταβάλλεσθαι ἢ ἐννόμως καὶ ἀθορύβως τὰ δόξαντα ποιεῖν.

Ὁ αὐτὸς τοὺς καλλωπιζομένους τῶν βασιλέων ἑταιριστρίαις ἀπείκαζε γυναιξίν.

Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς βουλομένους τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων στρατηγεῖν μέν, μὴ φιλοσοφεῖν δέ, ἡμιτύφλους ἐκάλει τὸν δεξιὸν ὀφθαλμόν.

Ἡράκλειος τῇ ἀστρονομίᾳ προσκείμενος ἔλεγε τοὺς μὴ ἐθέλοντας ἀστρολογεῖν μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀναγινώσκειν τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γράμματα.

77 Κωνσταντῖνος υἱὸς Ἡρακλείου. Οὐδέν τι περὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἡρακλείου εἰπεῖν δεδυνήμεθα, οὔτ' ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακόν, ὅτι μήτε πλείονα χρόνον ἑνὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διήρκεσε, μήτε τι ἐπεπράχει τῶν ὅσα ψόγον φέρει ἢ ἔπαινον, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν νοσήμασι πλείστοις ταλαιπωρούμενος. Πείθει δέ μέ τις τῶν ἱστορησάντων τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐν συγγράμμασιν, ὅτι ἀπηρτισμένος ἦν τὴν ἀληθῆ εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀμώμητον καὶ οὐ κατηκολούθει τῷ πατρικῷ δόγματι. Μαρτῖνα δὲ ἡ ἀνεψιὰ ὁμοῦ καὶ γυνὴ Ἡρακλείου, τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἡρακλωνᾶ ἕνεκα, ὃν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἔσχε, βασκαίνουσα τούτῳ τῆς βασιλείου τιμῆς, δηλητήριον φάρμακον λάθρᾳ σκευασαμένη δίδωσι πιεῖν καὶ ἀναιρεῖ. Καὶ εἰ μηδὲν μήτε τῆς ἐπινοίας μήτε τῆς ἀπονοίας ἀπώνατο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς ἡ ἁμαρτία καταβεβήκει. Περὶ μὲν Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως οὐδὲν ἀπόφθεγμα φέρεται· ὀλίγον γὰρ βιώσας ἐτεθνήκει.

78 Ἡρακλωνᾶς υἱὸς νόθος Ἡρακλείου . Τὸ παιδίον Ἡρακλωνᾶς (οὔπω γὰρ δεκαετὴς ὢν ἐβασίλευσεν) υἱὸς ἦν Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ Μαρτίνης , ἥτις ἦν Ἡρακλείῳ ἀδελφιδῆ. Ἀλλ' ὁ βασιλεὺς μανικώτερον
272r ταύτης ἐρασθείς, καίτοι | τἆλλα φρενήρης ὢν καὶ ἡδονῶν ἐγκρατής, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ἂν τὸ πάθος ἀπώσαιτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ γάμον ἐπ' αὐτῇ συγκροτεῖ καὶ ἐμπομπεύει τῷ πράγματι. Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλωνᾶν ἡ Μαρτῖνα, Κωνσταντῖνον ἀνελοῦσα τὸν ἔννομον υἱὸν Ἡρακλείου, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνάγει. Ἀλλ' οὔπω τέσσαρες παρῳχήκεσαν μῆνες, καὶ ὑβριοπαθήσαντες

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70 Ἡρακλωνᾶν scripsi, sed in ms. litterae ω helix est praefixa, quae forsitan ut ε interpretanda sit : Ἡρακλεωνὰν. Eandem helicem invenies in § 77, in § 78 autem noster scribit Ἡρακλωνᾶς. **82** § 77 qualibet causa dislocatum in ms. non prius quam post caput, quod de Imperatore Artemio (= § 86) agitur, invenies. *Vide comm.* περὶ : παρὰ **87** ἀπηρτημένος ἦ **88** κατηκολούθη **89** Ἡρακλεωνᾶ **91** ποιεῖν **1** ἦν : μὲν **2** ἀδελφιδῆς *vide comm.*

68–69 cf. Ecl. Hist. 339,22, 27–28 < Georg. Mon. 673,9 sqq., Cedr. I 752,17, 22–23,

But enough about him.
Heraclius returned into the city. There he first fell into the doctrine of monotheletism, and then he married his niece Martina who bore him a son whom he named Heraclonas and whom he appointed emperor on his deathbed, ignoring his other sons. He reigned thirty years.
Sayings of Heraclius.
The emperor Heraclius used to say that anger did not suit an emperor. He should either change his mind in a friendly way or carry out his decisions lawfully and quietly.
The same compared the emperors who liked to show off with meretricious females.
Those emperors who wished to be generals but declined philosophy were qualified by this emperor as half-blind: in the right eye.
Heraclius occupied himself intensively with astronomy and used to say that those who had no use for astrology refused to read God's letters.

77 Constantine, the son of Heraclius. We can mention nothing about Constantine the son of Heraclius, neither positive nor negative, because his reign lasted no more than one year and he achieved nothing worthy of either blame or praise, troubled as he was both before and during his reign by innumerable diseases. One of the authors who wrote a history of the emperors convinces me that he perfectly adhered to the true and faultless orthodoxy and that he did not follow his father's doctrine. Martina, however, the niece and at the same time the wife of Heraclius, begrudged him the imperial honour because of her son Heraclonas, whom she had got by Heraclius; and she secretly prepared a deadly poison which she gave him drink and by which she killed him. Well, whether premeditated or by foolish impulse: she had no profit by it whatsoever, and the sin fell fully on her head.
No saying of emperor Constantine has been transmitted; he died too young.

78 Heraclonas the bastard son of Heraclius. The boy Heraclonas (he was not even ten years old when he became emperor) was the son of the emperor Heraclius and Martina, who was Heraclius' niece. Though in every other respect prudent and self-controlled, the emperor had fallen more than maniacally in love with her and had failed to subdue his passion. So he contracted wedlock with her and prided himself upon it. But Martina elevated this Heraclonas to the emperorship by murdering Heraclius' legal son Constantine. However, there passed not more than four months before the

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Zon. III 215,17. **82–85** cf. Man. 3798–3802 ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ … Κωνσταντῖνος, / ὅς … καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς γευσάμενος πρὸς ἓν ἔτος τοῦ στέφους/ ἀνθυπεκρύβη τάχιον … / μηδέν τι μνήμης ἄξιον φθεγξάμενος ἢ δράσας … Vide similem adnotationem apud Psellum, *Mich. VII*, XII 4–5 de Constantino Michaelis filio. **86–88** cf. Zon. III 216,10–12 ἦν δὲ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος περὶ τὴν πίστιν ὀρθός, τὴν βασιλείαν πατρόθεν διαδεξάμενος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ κακόδοξον. *Vide* et *comm.* **1** δεκαετὴς ὤν: cf. Zon. III 217,7 ὁ Ἡρακλωνᾶς ἔτι δεκέτης ὢν …

ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξωθοῦσιν ἀμφοτέρους τῆς βασιλείας, τῷ μὲν Ἡρακλωνᾷ τὴν γλῶσσαν τεμόντες, τῇ δὲ Μαρτίνᾳ τὴν ῥῖνα. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἰδιώτευσαν καὶ οὕτω τεθνήκασι, βασιλεύει δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν Κώνστας ὁ Κωνσταντίνου υἱός.

79 Ὁ βασιλεὺς Κώνστας ὁ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου υἱός, ἔγγονος δὲ Ἡρακλείου, ἀγαθὸς μὲν τοὺς τρόπους καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβούλοις τὴν βασιλείαν ποιούμενος, τὸ δὲ σέβας καὶ λίαν ψεκτός. Οὐ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ πάππου αἵρεσιν εἵλετο. Ἔνθεν τοι καὶ μεμίσηται παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ βιαιότερον θνῄσκει. Οὗτος καταλιπὼν τὴν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ ἐν Συρακούσῃ γενόμενος (πολίχνιον δὲ Σικελικὸν ἡ Συράκουσα) ἐβούλετο μεταθεῖναι τὴν ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ βασίλειον ἀρχὴν εἰς τὴν πρεσβυτέραν Ῥώμην. Ἀλλ' οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σύμβουλοι ἐπέσχον τῆς ὁρμῆς. Ναυμαχοῦντι δὲ ἐν Φοινίκῃ καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀράβων ὄναρ αὐτὸν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ εἶναι ἐφάντασε. Καί τις τῶν περὶ τοὺς ὀνείρους τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐχόντων ἐξεῖπε τῷ βασιλεῖ διηγησαμένῳ τὸν ὄνειρον, ὅτι τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἄραβας ἡττᾶται πολέμῳ· τὸ γὰρ Θεσσαλονίκης ὄνομα σαφῶς τοῦτο δηλοῖ 'Θὲς ἄλλῳ τὴν νίκην.' Ἔνιοι δὲ τοῦτο τῷ πατρὶ προστιθέασιν. Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ οὗτος ἔτη ἑπτὰ πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν.

Εἴωθε λέγειν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς ὁ βασιλεύων μέν, συμβούλοις δὲ περὶ τῶν δεόντων πραγμάτων μὴ χρώμενος, οὗτος τῶν ἡδίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀποστερεῖ· ἢ γὰρ κατορθώσας περὶ ὧν προείλετο βασκαίνοντας τοὺς πλείους ἔχει τούτῳ τῆς πράξεως ὡς μὴ μετασχόντας τῶν βουλευμάτων αὐτῷ, ἢ ἀτυχήσας δυεῖν ἡμάρτηκε, καὶ ὧν ἐπεχείρησε καὶ τοῦ συναλγεῖν τοὺς ὑπηκόους αὐτῷ.

Ὁ αὐτὸς ἔλεγε τὰ ὀνείρατα ἀπορρήτων εἶναι μυστήρια.

Ὁ αὐτὸς Μάξιμον τὸν φιλόσοφον τῆς γλώσσης καὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς ἀποστερήσας χειρὸς ἔλεγεν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι Χριστιανοὺς καὶ λόγου καὶ πράξεως.

Ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς μεταθέσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς Ῥώμην βουλόμενος ἔλεγε δεῖν ἅπαντας τὰς μητέρας ἢ τὰς θυγατέρας τιμᾶν.

80 Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ υἱὸς Κώνσταντος. Ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Κώνσταντος φιλοπάτωρ ἦν εἴπερ τις ἄλλος. Εὐθὺς γὰρ ἅμα τῷ τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχεῖν εἰς Σικελίαν ἐκπλεύσας κατῆρε τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς φονέας τιμωρησόμενος. Οὗτος Πωγωνᾶτος ὠνόμασται, ὅτι ἀποπλεύσας ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου ἄρτι τὸν ἴουλον ἐξανθῶν εἰς τὴν νέαν Ῥώμην ἐπανελήλυθε καθειμένον ἔχων τὸ γένειον. Δυσὶ μὲν οὖν συνεβασίλευσε ἀδελφοῖς Ἡρα-

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23 Ἀράβους vide autem 70,45 et 72,91 **25** τοῦτο : τούτω **30** μετασχόντων **37** τὰς[1] : τοῖς **40** ἐκπνεύσας

senate, alarmed by what had happened, expelled them both from the throne. Heraclonas was divested of his tongue, Martina of her nose. Thus they became private citizens, in which condition they died, and in their place reigned Constans, the son of Constantine.

79 The emperor Constans, son of Constantine, grandson of Heraclius, had a good character and he reigned relying on his advisers. As to the true faith, however, he was absolutely mistaken, for he did not adhere to his father's orthodoxy but to his grandfather's heresy. Because of this there arose hatred against him among the citizens; this brought about his violent death: having left the city of Constantine and arrived at Syracuse (Syracuse is a small town in Sicily) he considered transferring the seat of Byzantine government to the elder Rome, but his advisers dissuaded him. And when he fought sea-battles around Phoenicia and Palestine against the Arabian king he had a dream which transported him in his phantasy into Thessalonica. One of the experts to whom the emperor submitted his dream told him that he would lose the war against the Arabs, for this was made clear by the name of Thessalonica: "Leave (*thes*) to the other (*al(l)o*) the victory (*nica*)"! (Some people connect this story with his father). This emperor reigned twenty-seven years. This emperor was accustomed to say that he who reigned without consulting his advisers in the appropriate cases, prived himself from the most agreeable things: either succeeding in the way he had chosen he would find the majority critical of his deed because they had not taken part in the deliberations, or, failing, his misfortune would be double: lack of success and lack of commiserating subjects!
The same used to say that dreams were mysteries of a secret world.
The same had the philosopher Maximus' tongue and right hand cut off, saying he had deprived the Christians of words and deeds.
His plan to transfer the government to Rome made the same emperor often say that everybody should rather honour his mother than his daughter.

80 Constantine, the son of Constans. No one honoured his father more than Constantine, the son of Constans. For as soon as he had assumed the throne he weighed anchor for Sicily to catch and punish his father's murderers. He was nicknamed Pogonatos (Long-beard) because he sailed out from Byzantium when the first fluff adorned his cheeks and he returned to New Rome having grown a long beard. He started reigning together with his two

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16–19 cf. Zon. III 221,2–4: ἀπῆρεν οὖν τοῦ Βυζαντίου καὶ εἰς Σικελίαν κατῆρε, διάγων περὶ Συράκουσαν, βουλόμενος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς τὴν πρεσβυτέραν Ῥώμην μετενεγκεῖν. Vide et Theoph. 351,24–25, Man. 3835–39 (cum florida comparatione!), Cedr. I 762,18–21. Cf. etiam Scr. Hist. Longobard. p. 416–419 **37** ἔλεγε … τιμᾶν: ≈ Zon. III 221,4 ἔλεγε γὰρ δεῖν μᾶλλον τὰς μητέρας (i. e. πρεσβ. Ῥώμην) ἢ τὰς θυγατέρας τιμᾶν, *vide comm.* **42** ἄρτι τὸν ἴουλον ἐξανθῶν: cf. Man. 3859 μεῖραξ τρυφεροπρόσωπος ἀνίουλος ἀπώγων. *Vide* et *comm.* **43–45** *vide comm.*

κλείῳ καὶ Τιβερίῳ, ἀλλ' ἄμφω καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξῶσε καὶ τὰς ῥῖνας ἀπέτεμεν ἐπιβουλὴν πλασάμενος κατ' αὐτῶν. Οὗτος καὶ Ἄραβας κατεναυμάχησε καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν πῦρ ἐφεῦρε καὶ κατορθώμασι πολλοῖς τὴν βασιλίδα κεκόσμηκε. Τῶν δὲ Βουλγάρων ἡττηθεὶς κατὰ πόλεμον φόρους ἐτησίους διδόναι συνέθετο. Εἶτα δὴ καὶ σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν συναθροίσας ἐν Βυζαντίδι ἀναθεματίζει τῶν μονοθελητῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν, Σέργιον καὶ Πύρρον τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς καθελὼν τῆς αἱρέσεως. Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ ἔτη δεκαεπτά.

Ἀποφθέγματα Κωνσταντίνου, υἱοῦ Κώνσταντος.

Οὗτος ἔλεγε τὰς τῶν δημίων χεῖρας μηδὲν φιλοσόφων διαφέρειν συλλογισμῶν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τὸ συμπέρασμα εὑρίσκειν, τὰς δὲ τὸ ἀδίκημα.

Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν πατέρα Γερμανοῦ ἀνελών, ὃς δὴ ὕστερον τὸν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀρχιερατικὸν θρόνον ἐκόσμησε, καὶ αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν Γερμανὸν ἤδη τὴν ἡλικίαν ἁδρότερον ὄντα τῶν παιδογόνων ἀφαιρεῖται μορίων· δεῖν γὰρ ἔφη μὴ τὸν πατέρα ὄφιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γέννημα ἀναιρεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τιμωρὸν γένηται τῷ πατρί.

⟨Ο⟩ὗτος τὰς προγεγονυίας πέντε συνόδους ἐν τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ συγκροτηθείσῃ ἀρραγέστερον συνδεσμήσας πολλάκις ἔφησε δεῖν ἀνανεοῦν τὸ καλόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλον γένηται.

81 Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ υἱὸς Κωνσταντίνου. Ἰουστινιανῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ ⟨εἴ τις⟩ τὰς πονηρὰς αὐτοῦ πράξεις ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς ἐπισταθμίσειε, μυριοπλασίας ἐκείνας εὑρήσει. Κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν δυτικῶν Σκυθῶν ἐκστρατεύσας ἅπαξ νενίκηκεν. Εἶτα δὴ τῇ νίκῃ ἐπαρθεὶς λύει τὴν εἰρήνην, ἣν οἱ τῆς Σάρας ἀπόγονοι καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔθεσαν. Οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐγγράφους συνθήκας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεικνύντες ἐθεοκλύτουν καὶ μάρτυρα ἐπεβοῶντο τὸν ἐγκείμενον τοῖς γράμμασιν. Ἔνθεν τοι καὶ συμμίξας τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰσχίστην ἧτταν ἡττήθη. Ἀναζεύξαντι δὲ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια ἡλίου γέγονεν ἔκλειψις. Τὸν δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐσωφρόνισεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μηδενὸς αὐτῷ γεγονότος καινοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἀνακτόρων καλλωπισμοῖς προσεῖχε τὸν νοῦν καὶ οὗ θεῖος νεὼς τῇ θεοτόκῳ καθίδρυται θεατρικήν τινα κρηπῖδα θέμενος τοῖς ἐκεῖσε συνειλεγμένοις δήμοις προσεῖχε τὸν νοῦν. Ἀλλ' οὔπω ἑκκαίδεκα ὅλα ἔτη βεβιωκότα Λεόντιος ὁ πατρίκιος τῆς βασιλείας καταβιβάσας καὶ τὴν ῥῖνα τεμὼν ὑπερόριον εἰς Χερσῶνα ποιεῖται.

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52 Ἀποφθέγματα ... Κώνσταντος : hunc titulum qualibet causa inter τῷ πατρί (59) et οὗτος (60) dislocatum huc transtuli. Sed fortasse ll. 60–62 coniunctim lineae 53 praecedebant **58** ἀφαιρεῖται : σφαιρεῖται **60** οὗτος : ο deest **63–64** εἴ τις addidi **66–67** τῆς Σάρας suspectum : conicio τῆς Ἄγαρ, *vide comm.* **71** ἔκκληψις **75** λέντιος

47–48 φόρους ἐτησίους: cf. Ecl. Hist. 344,4 ἐτήσια ... πάκτα, Zon. III 228,4–5 δασμὸν ... ἐτήσιον **48–50** (vide etiam 60–62): cf. Ecl. Hist. 344,7–11 καὶ σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν ποιήσας, συναθροίσας ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τῶν σπθ′ πατέρων, ἐβεβαίωσε τὰ δόγματα τῶν προλαβουσῶν ἁγίων πέντε συνόδων, καὶ τὴν τῶν μονοθελητῶν αἵρεσιν ἀνεθεμάτισε, καθελὼν Σέργιόν τε καὶ Πύρρον. **55–58** cf. Zon. III 222,4–8 ... ἀνεῖλε ... καὶ τὸν

brothers Heraclius and Tiberius, but he ejected them from the emperorship and had their noses cut off because of an unmotivated suspicion against them. He also beat the Arabs at sea, invented the fluid (= Greek) fire and embellished the fame of the capital by his many achievements. But at war with the Bulgars he was defeated and forced to pay yearly tribute. Further, he summoned an oecumenical synod in Byzantium and had the monotheletic heresy condemned and the leaders of the heresy Sergius and Pyrrhus deposed. He reigned seventeen years.

Sayings of Constantine, son of Constans.

One of his usual sayings was: "there is no difference between the executioner's hands and the philosopher's syllogisms: the last being busy to conclude what is right, the first, to execute what is wrong".

This emperor put to death Justinian the father of Germanus, who later became the pearl of the high-priestly see of Constantinople, and he had the same Germanus, though already of adult age, robbed of his genital parts, with the argument that one should not only kill the father serpent but also his brood, lest it avenge the father.

At the synod summoned by him he strengthened the ties with the five previous synods and made them more unbreakable, remarking that the good should often be renewed, to preserve the memory of it.

81 Justinian, the son of Constantine. If one should measure the bad deeds of the emperor Justinian against the good ones, he would find ten thousand times more bad ones. Campaigning against the western Scythians, he vanquished them once; then, elated at this victory, he broke the treaty of peace which Sarah's descendents [= the Saracens] and the Romans [= Byzantines] had concluded with each other. The former, therefore, showed in the confrontation the written agreements and called upon God and invoked Him, who was mentioned in the text as testimony. And so the emperor suffered in battle with the adversaries an awful defeat. Besides, after his return to the palace an eclipse of the sun took place. Nor did that bring him to his senses, but as if nothing particular had happened to him he directed his attention towards embellishing his palace, and at the spot where stood a holy church of the Theotokos he laid the foundations for a sort of theatrical building in which to give audience to the demes gathered there.

After a reign of not yet sixteen years the patrician Leontios forced him to abdicate, had his nose cut off and banished him to Cherson.

πατρίκιον Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν πατέρα Γερμανοῦ τοῦ πατριάρχου· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Γερμανὸν ἐκτομίαν ἐποίησεν, ἤδη παρηβηκότα καὶ ὑπερβεβηκότα τὴν ἡλικίαν, καθ' ἣν εὐνουχίζεσθαι δεδοκίμασται. **67–69** cf. Zon. III 230,8 sqq. τῶν δὲ Ἀράβων τὰς σπονδὰς αἰτουμένων μὴ ἀθετῆσαι μηδὲ τὰς ἐγγράφους παραβῆναι συνθήκας καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπιμαρτυρομένων, ὃς μέσος παραληφθεὶς αὐτὰς ἐμπεπέδωκε, ... Vide et Theoph. 366,3 sqq., Georg. Mon. 730,1 sqq., Ecl. Hist. 345,2–9, Cedr. I 772,15 sqq. **76** ὑπερόριον εἰς Χερσῶνα ποιεῖται: cf. Zon. III 233,5 εἰς Χερσῶνα ἔθεντο ὑπερόριον

Ἀποφθέγματα Ἰουστινιανοῦ.

Ἔλεγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος μὴ δεῖν τὸν βασιλέα δουλοπρεπῶς ἀπαρνεῖσθαι, ὃ ποιεῖν βούλοιτο, ἀλλ' ἐξαγορεύειν ἀναφανδόν.

Ὁ αὐτὸς ἰδών τινα φειδόμενον ἀδικούσης τῆς μητρὸς οὐκ ἔφησε δεῖν ἐπίπροσθεν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄγειν τοὺς γονέας.

Ἀφειδέστερον δὲ ταῖς τιμωρίαις χρώμενος εἰώθει λέγειν 'οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως 272v παυθείη τὰ χείρονα.' |

Ὁ αὐτὸς δεῖν μὲν ἔλεγε φεύγειν τὰς τιμωρίας, ἐμπεσόντας δὲ ἄκοντας μὴ καταπτοεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ γενναίως ἵστασθαι.

⟨Ὁ⟩βασιλεὺς οὗτος τὴν ῥῖνα τμηθεὶς καὶ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὖθις ἐπαναγόμενος κατεγέλα τῶν τυραννησάντων ὡς μὴ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτοῦ τεμόντων· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο φρόνημα βασιλέως δεικνύειν ἔλεγεν ὡς λόγος.

Οὗτος δὶς βασιλεύσας ηὔχετο καὶ τρὶς καὶ τετράκις· ἦ δὲ γάρ, φησι, μετὰ νέφος ὁ ἥλιος.

82 Λεόντιος ὁ βασιλεύς. Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄραβας τὴν Ἀφρικὴν ληϊζομένους ἄνδρα γενναῖον ἐξαποστείλας κατετροπώσατο. Εἶθ' ὁ στρατὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἐπαχθῆ φανέντα τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀναιροῦντες, συνεισπεσόντες ξίφεσιν, εἶτα δὴ τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τούτου δείσαντες καὶ κατ' ἐκείνου ἀπηναισχύντησαν καὶ Ἀψίμαρον, τοῦ πλωΐμου τότε στρατοῦ ἐξάρχοντα, στρατιωτικῆς εὐφημίας ἠξίωσαν προκαλέσαντες τοῦτον τὰ βασίλεια τὸ τάχος ἀπὸ τῆς ἑῴας καταλαβεῖν, ὡς ἂν ὑπ' αὐτῶν συμμαχούμενος ἐγκρατὴς τῆς ἀρχῆς γένοιτο. Καὶ ὁ μὲν [Λεόντιος] προσώρμισεν ἐν Συκαῖς (πόλισμά τι δὲ αὗται, οὐ μακρὰν ἀπῳκισμένον τῆς πόλεως), ἡ δὲ πόλις ἀντείχετο Λεοντίου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ παραχωρεῖν Ἀψιμάρῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἐβούλοντο. Ἀλλὰ προδοσίαν ἔνιοι τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ ἄστεος ποιησάμενοι πυλίδιά τινα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Βλαχέρναις μερῶν τῷ Ἀψιμάρῳ ἀνοίγουσιν, ὃς δὴ καὶ χειρωσάμενος τὸν Λεόντιον ἀφαιρεῖται τε τῆς ῥινὸς καὶ περιγράπτοις ὅροις ἐκόλασεν, ἔτη τρία τὴν βασίλειον ἀρχὴν κατασχόντα.

Ἀποφθέγματα Λεοντίου.

Οὗτος ἔλεγε τὸν βασιλέα μᾶλλον δεῖν δεδιέναι τῶν ἐν δεσμοῖς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὅπως ἂν λυθεῖεν βουλεύοιντο, ὁ δέ, πῶς ἂν μὴ δεσμοῖτο.

Οὗτος οὐδὲν ἔλεγεν ὀνεῖσθαι τὸν τέσσαρας τῶν αἰσθήσεων κατησφαλισμένον, τὴν δὲ πέμπτην ἀνεῳγμένην ἐάσαντα· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔλαττον καὶ διὰ ταύτης μόνης εἰσελθὼν ὁ πολέμιος ποιήσειεν.

Ὁ αὐτὸς ἔλεγε μὴ δεῖν κοσμεῖσθαι τὸν βασιλέα λίθοις καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ ὑφάσμασιν, ἀλλὰ βέλεσι καὶ τόξοις καὶ δόρασιν.

Ὁ αὐτὸς ἔλεγε μὴ δεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ἑνὶ στέμματι, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς νίκαις σεμνύνεσθαί τε καὶ καλλωπίζεσθαι.

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85 καταποιεῖσθαι *vide comm.* **88** τεμόντων post corr. e τεμῶν **93** αὐτοὺς corr. Kambylis : ἀσιούς ἀναιροῦντες : malim ἀναιροῦσι, *vide comm.* **94** δήσαντες **1** ἠξίωσαν καὶ προκαλέσαντες: delevi καὶ **3** ὁ μὲν Λεόντιος προσώρμισεν : delevi Λεόντιος, sed forsitan textus

Sayings of Justinian.
This emperor used to say that an emperor should not in a slavish manner deny what he intended to do but speak about it openly. Once seeing someone who spared his wrong-doing mother, he said: "it is incorrect to favour one's parents above justice".
He was accustomed to justify his more merciless applications of punishment with the words: "there is no other way to prevent what is worse".
The same said: "one should try to escape from punishment, but once caught one should not give in to depression, but should bravely endure".
This emperor, whose nose was cut off but who returned to the imperial throne, laughed at the usurpers that they had not cut out his tongue: for, as he often said, nothing else could make clear an emperor's state of mind but words.
Being emperor for the second time he prayed for a third and fourth time, for, he said: "after rain comes sunshine".

82 The emperor Leontios. This emperor sent a brave man out against the Arabs who were plundering Africa and had them put to rout. After that, however, the army of the Romans killed their commander who seemed a burden to them; they attacked him with their swords, but then, afraid of the emperor for this deed and also ashamed before him they deemed Apsimar, at that moment commander of the maritime forces, worthy of being hailed emperor by the troops. They urged him to seize imperial power from the East as soon as possible so that he could gain possession of rulership with their help. So, indeed, *Apsimar* (*see comm. ad loc.*) landed at Sycae, a small town not far from the city. But the city remained loyal to the emperor Leontios and refused to transfer rulership to Apsimar. Some inside the city, however, committed treason by opening some small gates for Apsimar at the side of Blachernae. Thus Apsimar laid hands on Leontios, had his nose cut off and held him confined within a precisely circumscribed area, after his bearing imperial power for three years.
Sayings of Leontios.
He used to say that an emperor should be more afraid than prisoners: they were concerned with getting free, he with avoiding imprisonment. He used also to say that safeguarding four sense-organs was useless if the fifth remained accessible: the Foe would cause no less damage by that entrance alone. The same said that the emperor's make-up should not consist of precious stones, gold and garments, but of arrows, bows and spears. He said as well that the emperor should not be honoured and embellished by means of one crown, but by means of many victories. Once he saw somebody jumping forwards

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lacunam habeat, *vide comm.* **7** μερῶν : ἡμερῶν **9** περιγραπτοῖς **12** μᾶλλον : μάλιστα (apophthegma vult dicere imperatorem magis decere anxium esse quam traditos in custodiam : his curae esse ut liberentur, ille ne capiatur)

Ὁ αὐτὸς ἰδών τινα προαλλόμενον τοῦ στρατοῦ ‛ὅρα σύ’, ἔφη, ‛ὦ λῷστε, μὴ καὶ πρῶτος ἀναιρεθείης παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν.’

83 Ἀψίμαρος ὁ καὶ Τιβέριος.

Ἀψίμαρος ἅμα τῷ βασιλεῦσαι στρατὸν κατὰ πάσης ἀποστέλλει Συρίας καὶ ληΐζεται ταύτην καὶ πολλὰς ἐκείνων ἀναιρεῖ χιλιάδας καὶ θάρσους μεγάλου αἴτιος τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων γίνεται. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις· ἦν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανός, ὁ καὶ Ῥινότμητος, ὑπερόριος ἐν Χερσῶνι καθεστηκώς. Βασιλεῦσαι αὖθις ἑαυτῷ ἐμαντεύετο. Ὁ δὲ τῆς Χερσῶνος λεὼς δεσμεῖσθαι τοῦτον διενοήθησαν καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀναπέμψαι Ῥωμαίων. Ὁ δὲ γνοὺς τοῦ πλήθους τὸ βούλευμα λαθραίως καταφεύγει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Χαζαρίας, ὃς καὶ κῆδος τοῦτον ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖται ἀδελφῇ. Ἀλλ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀψίμαρος τὸ γεγονὸς γνοὺς διὰ σπουδῆς ἐτίθετο πολλῆς Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐκεῖθεν χειρώσασθαι. Ὁ δὲ λαθὼν εἰς Χερσῶνα αὖθις κάτεισι καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἴστρου εἴς τι τῶν τῆς Ῥώμης πολιχνίων καταπλεῦσαι βούλεται καὶ τυχὼν συμμαχίας ἐξ ὑποθέσεως διὰ τοῦ ἀγωγοῦ λαθραίως εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐξεληλύθει. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀψίμαρος εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλωνιάδα φεύγει. Ὁ δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὖθις ἐπιτυχὴς γίνεται.

84 Ἰουστινιανὸς τὸ δεύτερον. Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν τὸ δεύτερον ἀπολαβὼν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιβουλευσαμένων αὐτῷ τινα τῶν μερῶν ἀκρωτηριάζει τοῦ σώματος, Ἀψίμαρον δὲ καὶ Λεόντιον δεσμήσας ἁλύσεσι καὶ πρηνεῖς ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους διακρίνας καὶ τοῖς αὐχέσι τούτων ἐναρμόσας τοὺς πόδας, θεάτρου ἱππικοῦ ἀγομένου, δι’ ὅλου τοῦ ἀγῶνος συμπατῶν τούτους συνέθλιβεν· εἶθ’ οὕτως καὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. Καὶ Καλλίνικον τὸν πατριάρχην τῶν ὀμμάτων στερήσας ἐξώρισε. Τοῖς Βουλγάροις δὲ εἰς πολέμους συμβαλὼν καὶ ἡττηθεὶς εἴς τι καταφεύγει φρούριον, εἶθ’ οὕτως εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπάνεισι. Δυσχεράναντες δὲ τοῦτον οἱ στρατιῶται Φιλιππικόν τινα ἄνδρα γενναῖον καὶ τηνικαῦτα πρωτεύοντα ἀναρρήσεως ἀξιοῦσι βασιλικῆς, ὃς σὺν πλήθει νεῶν τὴν πόλιν καταλαβὼν καὶ τὸν Ἰουστινιανὸν χειρωσάμενος ἀναιρεῖ, ἔτη ἓξ τὸ δεύτερον βασιλεύσαντα.

85 Φιλιππικὸς ὁ καὶ Βαρδάνης. Τὰς πράξεις Φιλιππικὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ γλώττῃ ⟨οὐ⟩ παρόμοιος, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν δέον δημηγορεῖν, κατὰ τοὺς ἀκριβεστέρους τῶν ῥητόρων τὸν λόγον συνέταττεν, εἰ δὲ τοῦ πράττειν καιρὸς ἦν, οὐδεὶς ἐκείνου ἀσυνετώτερος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιοῦτος ἦν χαῦνος καὶ διερρυηκώς. Οὐδὲ τοῦ κρίνειν δόξας ἀπείχετο, προσέθετο δὲ τοῖς μονοθελήταις

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21 ὅρα σύ : ὅρος **34** Χερσῶνας vide autem ll. 27 et 28 **38** Ἰουστινιανὸς : bis deest Ἰ **41** διακρίνας *vide comm.* **48** σὺν πλήθει : συμπλήθει τὴν : τὸ **51** Φιλιππικός : deest Φ **52** οὐ supplevi, sed possis ⟨οὐδὲν⟩ aut fortasse ἀπαρόμοιος : παρ’ ὅμοιος **55** τοῦ κρίνειν δόξας *vide comm.*

23–31 *vide comm.* 24–26, 26–32, 32–37. **44** ≂ Georg. Mon. 733,1–2 = Ecl. Hist. 348,25–26 Καλλίνικον δὲ τὸν Πατριάρχην τυφλώσας ἐξώρισε, … < Theoph. 375,13–14

out of the ranks and said: "take care, my friend, not to be the first man killed by the enemy!"

83 Apsimar, also called Tiberius. Upon becoming emperor Apsimar immediately sent an army against all of Syria, had it plundered and many thousands of inhabitants killed. By this action he very much increased the self-confidence of the Roman empire. So far so good, but the emperor Justinian, also nicknamed 'Nose-cut', lived an exile's life in Cherson. And he prophesied that he would be emperor again. The people of Cherson, however, made plans to put him in irons and to send him to the emperor. But he found out about the people's intentions and fled unseen to the king of Chazaria, who made him his kin through his own sister. When the emperor Apsimar heard about it, he left no stone unturned to lay hands on Justinian there. But he came secretly back to Cherson and conceived the idea to sail up the Danube and to take possession of one of the small Byzantine forts. He won, indeed, an ally 'on credit' and he penetrated unnoticed into the city by way of the aquaduct. Apsimar fled to the region of Apollonia and Justinian succeeded for the second time to the throne.

84 Justinian, second time. Having regained rulership Justinian had the others who had conspired against him mutilated, but Apsimar and Leontios he had chained and bent forward one at each side of him with their necks bound between their legs. During a whole performance in the hippodrome then, he trampled on them as foot-stools. And after that they were beheaded. The patriarch Callinicus, too, he had blinded and banished. At war with the Bulgarians, however, he was defeated, though he managed to flee into a fortress and from there to return to the city. But the soldiers felt disgust at him and deemed a certain Philippikos, a brave and at that time prominent man, worthy of the imperial title. This man occupied the city with the assistance of a considerable fleet, caught and killed Justinian, whose second reign lasted six years.

85 Philippikos, also called Bardanes. There was no resemblance whatsoever between emperor Philippikos' words and his deeds. That is to say, when he had to speak in public, he composed his speech according to the rules of the most precise orators; when, however, it was time to take action, none was sillier than he, but at the same time he was loose and lax, too. This did not prevent him from passing judgement on dogmas, and he favoured the

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= Cedr. I 781,3–4 ≂ Anon. Sath. 117,23–24. Cf. Glyk. 518,14–16. **46** φρούριον: eodem vocabulo utuntur Ecl. Hist. 348,31, Zon. III 239,18 (Theoph. 376,24, Cedr. I 781,22 κάστρον). **49** χειρωσάμενος: idem habent Georg. Mon. 733,22, Ecl. Hist. 349,11; Zon. III 242,9 Ἰουστινιανὸς χειροῦται. **51–55** cf. Zon. III 243,13 sqq. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ λέγειν ἐδόκει ῥητορικώτατος μὴ ἀμοιρῶν τε συνέσεως, ἐν δὲ τῷ πράττειν ἦν ξυμπάντων ἀσυνετώτερος καὶ πάμπαν ἀδέξιος. Vide et Theoph. 381,28–30, Ecl. Hist. 349,14–17, Cedr. I 784,21–785,1.

ὡς μᾶλλόν τι τῶν ἄλλων φρονήσασι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδ' ὅ τι ἐστὶ θέλημα ἐπιστάμενος ἢ φυσικὸν ἢ γνωμικόν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δόξαν ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης θηρώμενος κρίσεως τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν λογίων κατέταττεν αὐτό. Θεωρῶν δὲ ἱππηλάσιον, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τῶν νικησάντων ἐγεγόνει εἰς τὸ Ζευξίππου λουτρόν, ὑπὸ περιχαρείας ἐλούσατο καὶ κοινῆς τραπέζης ἑαυτῷ ἀξιώσας τοὺς ἱππηλάτας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἑστιᾶσθαι ὑπό τινων λογάδων τῆς συγκλητικῆς βουλῆς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται, δύο ἔτη τὴν βασίλειον ἀρχὴν κατασχών.

Ἀποφθέγματα Φιλιππικοῦ βασιλέως.

Ἔλεγε Φιλιππικὸς ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅτι πράττειν μὲν οὐ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τῷ βασιλεῖ, λέγειν δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖον· διὸ δὴ μὴ τὰς χεῖρας ἔχειν ἑτοίμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν πρόχειρον.

Οὗτος ἱερόσυλόν τινα ἐπὶ δικαστηρίου ἰδὼν χαύνως ἀπολογούμενον 'πῶς' ἔφησε πρὸς αὐτὸν 'πράττειν ἐτόλμησας οὔτε ὢν τὴν γλῶτταν εὔτολμος;'

Οὗτος φιλιππότης ἐξόχως γενόμενος καὶ θεατροσκοπίαις ἐπιτιθέμενος
273r | ἔφη προπαίδειαν εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀγῶνας τὰ θεατρικὰ ἱππηλάσια. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν εἰρηκότα μὴ δεῖν συγκατακεῖσθαι μίμοις τε καὶ γελοίοις 'διὰ τί' ἔφησεν 'εἰ ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ πρωτεύσειεν; Ἐγὼ δέ' φησιν 'οὐδὲ ῥήτορα ἀποδέχομαι ἄτεχνον.'

Εἴωθε δὲ τέως λέγειν· 'δεῖ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἀριστερώτατον εἶναι καὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως προΐστασθαι'.

86 Ἀρτέμιος ὁ καὶ Ἀναστάσιος. Ἀρτέμιος βασιλεύσας Ῥωμαίων μετὰ Φιλιππικὸν παντοδαποῦ λόγου γευσάμενος οὐδὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων ἀμαθὴς ἐγεγόνει, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν δι' ἑαυτοῦ κατώρθου, τὰ δὲ τοῖς κρείττοσι πιστεύων τὰ πράγματα. Τῶν δὲ Ἀράβων ὁπλιζομένων καὶ πόλιν περινοούντων σῖτόν τε εἰσηγάγετο ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ὅπλα παρεσκευάζετο καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι μάλα κατωχύρωσε. Τῷ δέ γε τοῦ στόλου στρατεύματι οὐ πάνυ τι ἐπιτήδειος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐπαχθὴς καὶ βαρύς. Ἔνθεν τοι ἅπαξ αὐτὸν δυσφημήσαντες εἰς στάσιν πρόδηλον ἐξεκαύθησαν. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολέμου ἀναζευγνύντες, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸ Ἀτραμύτιον ἐγένοντο, Θεοδόσιόν τινα εὐσεβῆ καὶ ἀπράγμονα ἄνδρα ἐκεῖσε τυγχάνοντα τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ὀνόματος τέως ἠξίωσαν. Ὁ δὲ πολλάκις διαφυγὼν καὶ τοσαυτάκις πάλιν παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ συλληφθεὶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς εὐφημίας

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58 αὐτό : αὐτόν *vide comm.* **70** ἄτολμος *vide comm.* **71** φιλιππότης : φιλοππότης sed forsitan emendandum sit φίλιππός τις ant φιλιππῶν τις **74** διὰ τί : διατί προτεύσειεν : malim πρωτεύσειαν/πρωτεύσαιεν **75** ἄτεκνον **77** κέρως : κέρδους **82** περινεούντων **84** οὐ πάνυ τι ἐπιτήδειος : οὐ πάνυ ἐπιτήδειος τί ἦν **86** Ἀτραμύντιον *vide comm.* **88** Ὁ : οἱ

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59 ἱππηλάσιον: cf. Zon. III 244,9 ἱππήλατον … ἀγῶνα **61** ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἑστιᾶσθαι: cf. Ecl. Hist. 349,26 ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτὸν ἑστιᾶσθαι. **81** Τῶν δὲ Ἀράβων ὁπλιζομένων: eodem initio utuntur Theoph. 382,31, Ecl. Hist. 350,6, Cedr. I 786,1, sequuntur autem alii contextus.

monotheletes as having obtained deeper insight than the others, and that, without having any knowledge about natural or purposive will; but as if pursuing glory by such a judgement he gave a full interpretation of it to the most highly qualified scholars.
Once after watching the chariot races he went to the Zeuxippos bath with the victors; and having bathed with them in great hilarity he invited the horse-drivers for a common dinner. In the middle of the banquet he was deprived of his eye-sight by some prominent members of the senate, having exercised imperial power during two years.
Sayings of the emperor Philippikos.
The emperor Philippikos used to say that taking action was no more absolutely necessary for an emperor than speaking. He should therefore not have his hands ready, but his tongue sharp.
He once observed a church-robber who defended his case at court in an off-hand way, and said to him: "how did you dare to do what you did, being so shy of tongue?"
He was a fervent lover of horsemen and fond of performances at the theatre, using as a motive that the races in the hippodrome were good preparatory instruction for war-fighting. And to someone who had advised him not to dine together with actors and jokers, he said: "why not, if it's a first-rate artist? As for me", said he, "I cannot stand an unskilled orator either".
During his rule he was accustomed to say: "even from the very left wing the emperor ought to command the right wing".

86 Artemios, also called Anastasios. After Philippikos, Artemios became emperor of the Romans. He tasted of all sorts of literature, but proved himself not inexperienced in war-fare either, albeit that he gained some victories by his own efforts, others by entrusting affairs to more competent people. And when the Arabs began to arm themselves for an attack on the city, he provided her with corn, put the armaments in readiness and fortified her by strengthening the walls. But in the eyes of the maritime force he was not suitable at all, but burdensome and a nuisance. At one moment they even shouted 'down with him' and burst into open mutiny. They left the site of war and rode towards the city, but having arrived near Adramyttium they found there a pious private citizen, Theodosios, and on the spot they deemed him worthy of the imperial title. As often as he tried to escape, he was caught each time by the military and hailed again and again as emperor, and thus, as it were

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83 κατωχύρωσε: Ecl. Hist. 350,11; Theoph. 384,13: ὀχυρώσας. **87** εὐσεβῆ καὶ ἀπράγμονα: idem habet Ecl. Hist. 350,27–28 = Cedr. II 18–19. Theoph. 385,22–23 ... ἀπράγμονά τε καὶ ἰδιώτην, sed Zon. III 246,8 Θεοδόσιόν τινα πράκτορα τῶν δημοσίων τελῶν, ἰδιώτην ἄνδρα ...! Vide autem et ibid. 247,12–14. Iterum scribit Ecl. Hist. 351,26–27 in fine capitis de Theodosio: ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι οὗτος ὁ Θεοδόσιος ἦν ἐκλήπτωρ τῶν δημοσίων φόρων· εὐσεβὴς δὲ καὶ ἀπράγμων.

ἀξιωθεὶς ὥσπερ ὠθούμενος παρ' αὐτῶν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀρτέμιος εἰς Νίκαιαν καὶ πρότερον διαπεφευγώς, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Θεοδόσιον εἶδε τῆς βασιλείας κρατήσαντα, τὸ μοναδικὸν ἐπενδύεται σχῆμα καὶ ἀειφυγίαν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ καταδικάζεται, δύο ἔτη βασιλεύσας Ῥωμαίων. Καὶ πάντες μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ Θεοδοσίῳ ὑπέκυψαν, Λέων δὲ ὁ ἐξ Ἰσαυρίας τὴν ἑῴαν ἀντιπιστευθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀρτεμίου οὐχ ὑπέκυψε τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Θεοδοσίῳ, ἀλλὰ προσλαβόμενος κοινωνὸν τῆς βουλῆς Ἀρτάβασδον τὸν Ἀρμένιον προδήλως τῷ Θεοδοσίῳ ἀντέκειτο καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχεν, ὅπως ἂν αὐτὸν κατενέγκοι τῆς βασιλείας. Ἦν δὲ τοῦτο ῥᾷστον παντί, τοῦ Θεοδοσίου ἀφελοῦς ὄντος ἀνδρὸς καὶ διευλαβουμένου ἀεὶ δυσμεταχείριστον οὖσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πολλοῖς εἰθισμένην κυμαίνεσθαι πράγμασιν. Ὁ μέντοιγε Ἀρτέμιος δύο ἔτεσιν ἐπιβεβιωκὼς τελευτᾷ.

87 ⟨Θεοδόσιος⟩. Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀγαθὸν μὲν τὸ ἦθος καὶ ὁ βίος σεμνός, οὐ προσήκων δὲ αὐτοκράτορι δραστηρίῳ. Τῶν γὰρ πραγμάτων τηνικαῦτα μαινομένων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ληϊζομένων τί οὗτος ὤνησεν ὑποχωρῶν πᾶσι καὶ ὑποστελλόμενος καὶ δάκρυα ἀφιεὶς καὶ μαλακώτερον τῶν πραγμάτων ἁπτόμενος; Καλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα (πῶς γὰρ οὔ;) καὶ ἐπαίνων μεγάλων ἄξια, ἀλλὰ παντὶ βασιλεῖ δεῖ μὲν καὶ σεμνότητος, δεῖ δὲ καὶ ὀξύτητος καὶ γενναίου φρονήματος. Ἔνθεν τοι ὁ ἐξ Ἰσαυρίας Λέων ὁ τηνικαῦτα τὴν ἑῴαν ἐπιτραπεὶς τῆς χαυνότητος τοῦ κρατοῦντος καταστοχασάμενος ἐπανάστασιν βουλεύεται κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ σὺν παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνάκτορα ἔρχεται. Ὁ δὲ Θεοδόσιος οὐδὲ πρὸς βραχὺ ἀπήρκεσεν, ἀλλὰ μερὶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας γενόμενος παραχωρεῖ τῷ Λέοντι τῆς ἀρχῆς, δύο ἔτη τὴν βασιλείαν ἰθύνας.

88 Λέων Ἴσαυρος ὁ Σύρος. Θηρίον ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς Λέων ὁ Ἴσαυρος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα. Ὃς κατὰ μαντείαν τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων λαβὼν ἐλύττησεν εὐθὺς κατὰ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων, διαλυσάμενος τὸ ὑποσχεθὲν χρέος τοῖς μάντεσι. Καὶ τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας μορφὴν παρέξεσε, κατέστρεψε δὲ καὶ ἱεροὺς ναοὺς καὶ σεμνὰ φροντιστήρια. Καὶ τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν ὁ ἀσεβέστατος ἀναισχύντως ἐδίωξεν οὐδὲ φροντίσας τῶν καταδραμόντων Σαρακηνῶν τὰς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πόλεις καὶ χώρας, ἀλλὰ ταύτην μόνον φροντίδα θέμενος εἰ ἀναρραγεῖεν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οἱ θεμέλιοι. Παῖδα δὲ γεννήσας, ὃν Κωνσταντῖνον ὠνόμασε, προσήνεγκε μὲν τῷ θείῳ λουτρῷ ἔτι παῖδα ὄντα, κατεβάπτισε δὲ τοῦτον μᾶλλον ἢ ἐβαπτίσατο,

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90 εἰσῆλθον **4** ἀφελῶς possis ἀφελῶς ⟨ἔχ⟩οντος **7** Sine ullo signo hic sequitur caput de Constantino Heraclii filio = § 77 **8** Θεοδόσιος addidi **10** Ῥωμαίους: cf. l. 27. Vide et Renauld, *Et.* 158, 159 **16** καταστοχασάμενοι βούλεται **23** et **35** εἰκόνων : κανόνων

90–91 cf. Theoph. 385,24–27, Ecl. Hist. 350,30–31, Cedr. I 786,19–20, Zon. III 246,9–11,

pushed by them, he took possession of the palace. Meanwhile the emperor Artemios had already fled to Nicaea and when he saw that Theodosios had obtained the empire, he donned the monk's habit. He was also condemned to banishment for life in Thessalonica, having been two years emperor of the Romans.
Everybody settled for Theodosios as emperor, but not Leo from Isauria, to whom the emperor Artemios had entrusted the eastern part as a reward. He made Artabasdos the Armenian participant in his plans and started an open attack on Theodosios eager to make him vacate the imperial throne. This would have been a simple job for anybody, since Theodosios was a simple soul who always shrank from occupying himself with an empire which was hard to manage and continually turbulent from many causes.
As to Artemios he lived another two years before he died.

87 Theodosios. The emperor Theodosios had a good character and a serious way of life, but nothing proper to an emperor with a job to do. And he was confronted at that moment with a chaotic situation and with barbarians plundering the whole of the Roman territory. But what did he gain by making concessions to everybody, by soft-pedalling everything, by shedding tears, by tackling affairs too gently? To be sure such an attitude is noble, is it not, and highly praise-worthy, and, of course, every emperor needs seriousness; but fierceness and bravery are just as important. Hence Leo from Isauria, to whom at that time the eastern part had been entrusted, made a butt of the slackness of the ruler. He engineered a rebellion against him and advanced with his whole army on the imperial palace. Theodosios' resistance did not last even a short time: he entered the Church and left the empire to Leo, having steered the state during two years.

88 Leo the Isaurian from Syria.
The emperor Leo (= Lion) the Isaurian was truly a beast, no less in his soul than in his name. He had taken possession of the Roman empire as predicted by an oracle, and in order to fulfill the bargain made with the fortune-tellers, he immediately started to rage furiously at the godly icons. Thus he disfigured the face of the Church by destroying holy temples and pious monasteries. The very godless man persecuted Christianity in a shameless manner: he was not in the least concerned about the Saracens who razed Roman towns and lands, but he concentrated his concern only on the destruction of the very foundations of the churches. He begot a son, whom he named Constantine, and, indeed, he presented him at a tender age to receive the holy bath, but he

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Man. 4134–4139, Anon. Sath. 120,17–19. **91–94** cf. Theoph. 386,10–12, Ecl. Hist. 351,7–9, Cedr. I 787,4–6, Zon. III 247,8–11. **94–3** cf. Theoph. 386,15–17, Ecl. Hist. 351,9–12, Cedr. I 787,7–9, Zon. III 247,14–248,3. Vide et Man. 4164–4170. **21** *vide comm.* **23** ἐλύττησεν: cf. Zon. III 257,2–3 ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Λέων ἄρχεται τοῦ θεομαχεῖν καὶ κατὰ τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων ἐλύττησε. *Vide* et *comm.*

καὶ τοῖς θείοις κατέκλυσεν ὕδασι. Τέσσαρα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσι βασιλεύσας ἔτη νόσῳ κατασχεθεὶς τελευτᾷ.

89 Ὁ Κοπρώνυμος. Ὁ τοῦ Λέοντος υἱὸς Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας διάδοχος γενόμενος τοῦ πατρὸς μακρῷ τοῦτον ταῖς κατὰ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων μανίαις ὑπερηκόντισεν. Ἀναγεννώμενος δὲ τῷ θείῳ λουτρῷ κόπρον κατὰ τῶν μυστικῶν ὑδάτων ἐκκρίνει· ἔνθεν τοι καὶ Κοπρώνυμος ἐπωνόμασται. Οὗτος οὐκ ἀσεβὴς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γόης καὶ ἀρρητοποιὸς καὶ ἐπῳδαῖς χαίρων καὶ ταῖς κατὰ τῶν ἀδύτων μαντείαις ἱερεῖά τε ἀνατέμνων, ἐφ' ᾧ τε σπλάγχνα τούτων θεάσασθαι καὶ τεκμήρασθαι ἀπὸ τούτων τὰ ἐσόμενα. Θεάτρων τε ἐραστὴς καὶ οἷον ὄργανον
273v ἄντικρυς τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου | φαινόμενος. Ἐξεῖλε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων Χριστοῦ τὸ 'ἅγιος' ὄνομα καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τούτων σώματα διέπτυσε καὶ κατέκαυσεν. Ἐξοχώτατα δὲ πάντων ὁ δείλαιος τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παρθένῳ ἐμάχετο. Ἐτεθνήκει δὲ πυρὶ θείῳ φλεγόμενος καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις ἀναβοῶν, ζήσας ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτη τέσσαρα ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα.

90 Λέων ἐκ τῆς Χαζάρης. Θηρίον καὶ οὗτος ὁ Λέων, θηρίον ἄντικρυς τὴν ψυχήν, κατ' οὐδὲν ἐλάττων τοῦ πάππου τήν τε ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὴν κακοήθειαν. Ἀλλὰ τὰ πρῶτα μὲν εὐσεβεῖν ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον δόξαν μεταποιεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκριβέστερον, εἶτα τὸ προσωπεῖον ἀφελόμενος τὸν ὑποκείμενον ἐγύμνωσε δράκοντα καὶ γυμνῇ κεφαλῇ κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν χωρεῖ. Καὶ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ μὲν ἡ Χαζάρα — ἐθνικὸν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα — , γυνὴ δὲ ἡ εὐσεβεστάτη Εἰρήνη, ἐξ ἧς Κωνσταντῖνον γεννᾷ τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν βασιλεύσαντα. Ἐξελᾷ μέντοιγε ταύτην τῶν ἀνακτόρων ὡς μὴ ἑπομένην, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφοδρῶς ἀντικειμένην οἷς οὗτος ἐθρήσκευε. Περὶ δὲ τὰς πολυτιμήτους τῶν λίθων ἐπτοημένος τὴν χρυσῆν ταινίαν, ἣν ἀφιέρωσε Μαυρίκιος τῷ θεῷ, λαβὼν ἀνεδήσατο. Καὶ πυρετὸν εὐθὺς σφοδρὸν τῆς ἱεροσυλίας ἀντιλαμβάνει, ᾧ φλεγόμενος ἐτελεύτησε ἔτη πέντε τὴν βασίλειον ἀρχὴν κατασχών.

91 Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Εἰρήνη. Δέον πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρηνεύειν Εἰρήνην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Κωνσταντῖνον τὴν πρώτην εἰρήνην ποιησαμένους καὶ σύνοδον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀθροίσαντας περὶ τῆς τῶν θείων εἰκόνων τιμῆς τε καὶ προσκυνήσεως, οἱ δὲ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐτράποντο καὶ

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42 ἱερὰ : ἱερέως **60** Εἰρήνης Δέον : Λέον **62** in margine : † σύνοδος περὶ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων

33–34 τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας διάδοχος γενόμενος τοῦ πατρός: cf. Ecl. Hist 356,27–28 οὗτος τὴν πατρῴαν τε βασιλείαν καὶ δυσσέβειαν διαδεξάμενος < Georg. Mon. 750,18 sqq. = Cedr. II 3,4–5. Cf. etiam Zon. III 264,14–15. **41–42** ἀπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων Χριστοῦ κτλ.: cf. Georg. Mon. 751,4–6 ... μὴ λέγεσθαί τινα τῶν θεραπόντων Κυρίου τὸ παράπαν ἅγιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λείψανα τούτων εὑρισκόμενα διαπτύεσθαι, ... ≈ Ecl. Hist. 356,34–357,1. **47** Λέων ἐκ τῆς Χαζάρης: cf. Ecl. Hist. 362,27 Λέων ὁ ἐκ

had him rather ducked than baptised by plunging him totally into the godly waters.
After a reign of twenty-four years he died of a wasting disease.

89 Kopronymos ('Turdyman'). Leo's son Constantine was his successor not only to the throne but also to his godlessness. He surpassed his father by far, however, with his maniacal outbursts against the godly icons. At the occasion of his rebirth in the holy bath he relieved himself in the mystic waters; hence he was nicknamed Kopronymos ('Turdyman'). Not only godless was he, but also a sorcerer, one who practised unmentionable vices, one who loved exorcisms and divinations within sanctuaries, where he cut open victims in order to look at their entrails and to deduce the future from them. He was fond of performances at the theatre and revealed himself absolutely as an instrument of the Antichrist. He deprived the servants of God of the name 'holy', spat on their pious bodies and burnt them. But the wretch was totally beyond compare in his struggle against the Mother of God and Virgin. He died being inflamed by a godly fire, often screaming out in pain after a thirty-four years' life on the throne of the empire.

90 Leo from Chazara. No less a beast was this Leo, fully with the soul of a beast, in nothing inferior to his grandfather as to godlessness and wickedness. At first, however, he gave the impression of piety and of a change of course towards greater orthodoxy as to the godly rule, next he threw off his mask, revealed the hidden serpent and opened a bare-faced attack on the churches. His mother was a Chazar(ian) — that is the name of a tribe —, his wife was the absolutely orthodox Irene, by whom he begot Constantine who succeeded him. She was, however, chased by him from the palace, because she not only disobeyed but even fiercely resisted his religious practices. He showed such a passionate excitement for precious stones that he took the golden crown, which Mauricius had dedicated to God, and put it on. A violent fever followed this deed of sacrilege, wasted by which he died after a five years' reign.

91 Constantine and his mother Irene. Irene and her son Constantine should have lived in an irenic way with each other after they had reached the first irenic solution by summoning a synod at Constantinople on the honouring and worshipping of the holy icons. Instead, they went for each other, hit and

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τῆς Χαζάρας, Cedr. II 19,1, Zon. III 282,16. **49** εὐσεβεῖν ὑπεκρίνετο: idem habet Zon. III 283,2, cf. Ecl. Hist. 362,29 εὐσεβὴς εἶναι προσποιησάμενος, vide et Theoph. 449,14, Cedr. II 19,4, Georg. Mon. 765,9–10 ὃς ἔδοξε μὲν πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον εὐσεβὴς εἶναι, ... **50–51** εἶτα ... δράκοντα: cf. Zon. III 284,6–7 τὴν ἀλωπεκῆν ἀποδὺς τὸν ἐντὸς κρυπτόμενον ἐδημοσίευσε λέοντα, vide et Theoph. 453,14, Ecl. Hist. 363,35 **54–55** *vide comm.* **56** ταινίαν, ἣν κτλ.: ~ Zon. III 284,12 sqq. ... στέμματος, ὅπερ ὁ Μαυρίκιος τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνέθετο, καὶ τοῦτο λαβὼν καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ περιθέμενος εὐθὺς ἐλήφθη σφοδρῷ πυρετῷ, ... *Vide* et *comm.* 11–15 **58** τῆς ἱεροσυλίας: *vide comm.* 11–15

ἀνὰ μέρος ὤθουν καὶ ἀντωθοῦντο, καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡ Εἰρήνη τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐλάμβανε, νῦν δὲ μόνος ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος τοῖς ἀνακτόροις ἀντικαθίστατο καὶ αὖθις ἡ μήτηρ καὶ πάλιν ὁ παῖς, ἕως οὐκ εἰς καλὸν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀμφίβολον τῆς γνώμης ἀπετελεύτησεν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ παῖς Κωνσταντῖνος τῆς μητρὸς ἐγκελευσαμένης ἀποτυφλοῦται τὰ ὄμματα, ὁπηνίκα καὶ σκότος κατὰ πάσης ἐγένετο γῆς. Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιβουλεύεται καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ γενικῶν Νικηφόρος ἐγκρατὴς τῆς ἀρχῆς γίνεται. Ἐβασίλευσε δὲ Εἰρήνη σὺν τῷ υἱῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ ἔτη δέκα, τἆλλα μὲν εὐσεβής, τῷ δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν φθόνῳ, ὡς ἔγωγε κρίνω, οὐκ ἀγαθή.

92 Νικηφόρος ἀνδράδελφος Εἰρήνης τῆς βασιλίσσης. Οὗτος ὁ Νικηφόρος οὐκ ἀπὸ τροπαίων βαρβαρικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τροπαίων θεοστυγῶν κατὰ πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν ἔσχε τὸ ὄνομα. Οὐ γὰρ οἶδα, εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν βασιλέων ἐπίκλοπος ἐγεγόνει καὶ δολερώτατος. Τὴν βασιλίδα Εἰρήνην μυρία διαψευσάμενος, εἶτα δὴ εἰς τὴν τῆς Πριγκίπου νῆσον ὑπερορίσας καὶ πάντα μὲν διαλυμηνάμενος πράγματα, πᾶσαν δὲ κακίαν καὶ θηριωδίαν κατὰ πάντων ἐπιδειξάμενος, ἐς τοσοῦτον γοῦν αὐτῷ ἡ κακία ἐκεκορύφωτο, ὡς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὁμολογεῖν ὑπὸ δαίμονός τινος πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐλαύνεσθαι κακοήθειαν. Ἀμέλει τοι, ἑνὸς τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτῷ εἰρηκότος, ὡς δεῖ τόνδε ἀγαθόν τι δρᾶσαι, ἑαυτὸν τῆς πονηρᾶς ψυχῆς βδελυξάμενος 'χρῶ' φησι 'σὺ πρὸς τοῦτον τῇ ἀγαθότητι· παρὰ γὰρ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης μηδέν τι καλόν ποτε γενήσεσθαι προσδοκήσειας.' Κατέσχε δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν μῆνας ἐννέα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀκτὼ ἔτεσιν.

93 Σταυράκιος ὁ υἱὸς Νικηφόρου. Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς Σταυράκιος μέχρι ὀνόματος βασιλεύς, τὰ δ' ἄλλα καὶ βασιλείας καὶ πάσης δυναστείας ἀνάξιος, τὴν μὲν γνώμην ἀνόητος, τὴν δὲ μορφὴν δυσειδέστατος, οὔτε λόγοις ὡμιληκώς, οὔτε πρὸς τὰ πράγματα δεξιώτατος. Ἅπαξ γάρ ποτε ἐν πολέμῳ παρασχὼν καὶ τὸν ὦμον πληγεὶς θανατηφόρον ἔσχε τὸ τραῦμα. Ἔνθεν τοι ἀπογνοὺς τὴν ζωὴν τῇ γυναικὶ ἐπειρᾶτο Θεοφανοῖ τὴν βασιλείαν καταλιπεῖν. Ἀλλ' ὁ εὐσεβὴς Μιχαήλ, ὃν ὁ Νικηφόρος γαμβρὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἐποιήσατο, ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναγορεύεται. Ὅπερ ὁ Σταυράκιος γνοὺς εὐθὺς σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ ἀποκεί-

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64 μοναχίαν **68** in margine : τύφλωσις τοῦ υἱοῦ Κωνσταντίνου **69** πολὺ **75** ἀποτροπαίων (bis)

68–69 ≂ Matth. 27,45 **70** ὁ ἀπὸ γενικῶν Νικηφόρος: cf. Ecl. Hist. 369,20–21: Νικηφόρος πατρίκιος καὶ γενικὸς, Theoph. 476,4 = Cedr. II 30,6 = Zon. 301,10–11 Νικηφόρος πατρίκιος καὶ γενικὸς λογοθέτης, cf. Georg. Mon. 771,21. **74** Νικηφόρος ἀνδράδελφος Εἰρήνης: ≂ Ecl. Hist. 370,2 Νικηφόρος ὁ ἀνδράδελφος Εἰρήνης (vide et titulum), ubi scholium habet hanc notam: Νικηφόρος ὁ ἀνδράδελφος Εἰρήνης τῆς βασιλίσσης,

hit back in turn, and now Irene exercised absolute power, now Constantine took possession of the palace alone, again the mother, again the son, until their conflict resulted in a disaster for both. By order of the mother Constantine, her son, was blinded, whence at that time the whole world was envelopped in darkness. Not much later, however, his mother too found herself confronted by a conspiracy to gain the empire, and Nikephoros, a former minister (of finances), took control of the government. Irene reigned together with her son ten years, in other respects a pious, but all the same a bad woman, in my opinion, because of her jealousy against her son.

92 Nikephoros, brother-in-law of the empress Irene. This Nikephoros (= 'the Victorious') did not deserve his name from victories won against barbarians, but from god-forsaken trophies gained from fighting against every virtue. I know no other emperor more tricky and more highly treacherous than he. He deceived the empress Irene by innumerable means and had her afterwards banished to the island Prinkipos. He ruined everything, demonstrated all forms of badness and bestiality against everybody, and his wickedness reached such an apex that he himself confessed to being driven to all this malice by a devil. In any case, when one of his servants had said to him that he ought to do at least something good if he felt any loathing because of his bad soul, he said: "you, apply your own goodness to this poor soul, for you cannot expect any good whatsoever to arise from my mind at any time". He occupied the throne eight years and nine months.

93 Stavrakios the son of Nikephoros. This emperor Stavrakios was only nominally an emperor, but for the rest unworthy of the empire or any form of power, being foolish of mind, very ugly of appearance, unfamiliar with literature, incapable of action. Once he appeared in battle and received a deadly wound at the shoulder. Being in despair for his life he tried to leave the empire in the hands of his wife Theophano. But the people proclaimed the pious Michael emperor, whom Nikephoros had married to his daughter and made his son-in-law. As soon as Stavrakios had been informed about

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ὁ σφαγεὶς ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ ιζ κε. **77–78** cf. Zon. III 303,7–8 καὶ ὃς αὐτίκα εἰς τὴν νῆσον αὐτὴν ὑπερώρισεν, ἣ τοῦ Πρίγκιπος ἐπωνόμασται ~ Theoph. 478,26 παρευθὺς ἐξώρισεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῆς Πριγκίπου, cf. Ecl. Hist. 370,22–23, Cedr. II 31,3. Georg. Mon. 772,7 autem: ὃς Εἰρήνην αὐτίκα περιορίσας ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ νήσῳ, ... **89** δυσειδέστατος: cf. Ecl. Hist. 372,3 Σταυράκιον, δυσειδῆ καὶ ἀφελῆ ὄντα, vide et Zon. III 304,14 Σταυράκιον ... εἰδεχθῆ τε λίαν ὄντα καὶ ἀφελῆ καὶ μήτε εἶδος μήτε τὴν γενναιότητα μήτε σύνεσιν ἔχοντα τυραννίδος ἐπάξια. **90–92** *vide comm.* **92–93** τῇ γυναικὶ ... καταλιπεῖν: cf. Zon. III 312,1 ... βουλόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ συμβίῳ καταλιπεῖν, Cedr. II 43,1–3 ἐβούλετο ..., τῇ δὲ γαμετῇ Θεοφανοῖ τὴν βασιλείαν καταλιπεῖν. Vide et Theoph. 492,25, Ecl. Hist. 372,31. **93–95** cf. Ecl. Hist. 372,30–373,4 < Georg. Mon. 776,5 sqq., cf. Theoph. 493,20–25. Breviter Zon. III 312,5–6.

ρεται καὶ τῶν ἀνακτόρων κάτεισιν. Ἐν μοναστηρίῳ δέ τινι βραχύν τινα χρόνον ἐπιβιοὺς θάπτεται τελευτήσας ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Σατύρου, ἔτος ἓν βασιλεύσας πρὸς δύο μησίν.

94 Μιχαὴλ ὁ εὐσεβής. Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ γένος περιφανὴς καὶ τὴν δόξαν ὑπέρλαμπρος ἐπίσημός τε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἐπιεικής, εὐσεβέστατός τε εἴπερ τις ἄλλος καὶ πάσαις βρύων ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, βασιλεύειν δὲ ἢ ὅλως ἄρχειν τοῦ δέοντος μαλθακώτερος· οὔτε γὰρ ὀργὴν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πονηρούς, οὔτε τὰ πράγματα δραστήριος ἦν. Πονηροῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις πιστεύων καὶ κακοήθεσι πάντα συνέτριψε καὶ διέφθειρεν οὐ κατὰ κακίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀφέλειαν. Κατὰ Βουλγάρων δὲ ἐκστρατεύσας καὶ ἀσυντάκτως τὸν πόλεμον ποιησάμενος κατὰ κράτος ἡττήθη. Λέων δὲ ὁ Ἀρμένιος τὴν τῆς ἑῴας τηνικαῦτα ἐπιτετραμμένος ἀρχὴν καιρὸν εὔθετον ἐπιβουλῆς εὑρηκὼς ὁπλίζεται κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἀκροθιγῶς τοῦτο ἀκούσας αὐτίκα τὸ μοναδικὸν σχῆμα σὺν γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀμφιεσάμενος εἰς τὸ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως νησίον τὴν Πλάτην περιορίζεται ἐν ᾧ καὶ τελευτᾷ, ἔτη δύο τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχών.

95 Λέων ὁ Ἀρμένιος. Γενναῖος μὲν ἀνὴρ ὁ Ἀρμένιος Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πλεῖστα ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνῃρημένος τρόπαια, ὑποκαθήμενος δὲ τὸ ἦθος καὶ δόλου μεστός. Εὐσέβειαν γοῦν ὑποκριθεὶς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ κράτους, αὐτίκα μεταβάλλεται καὶ κατὰ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων κατατολμᾷ. Τὸν δὲ τῶν Βουλγάρων ἀρχηγὸν ἀνελεῖν μὲν εὐμηχάνως ἐπεχείρησεν, οὐκ ἔτυχε δὲ τοῦ σκοποῦ· ὅθεν οὗτος γνοὺς τὴν ἀπάτην πολλῶν κακῶν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων γέγονεν αἴτιος. Μιχαὴλ δὲ ὁ Ἀμορραῖος ὑποπτευθεὶς ἐπὶ τυραννικαῖς αἰτίαις τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὃς δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὺς εἶχε τοὺς συνωμότας, αὐτίκα δεσμεῖται καὶ ἐν εἱρκτῇ βάλλεται. Δείσας δὲ μή τι πάθοι δεινότερον, ἕκαστον τῶν συνωμοτῶν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπεζήτει
274ʳ βοήθειαν. Ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος παπίας τῆς πράξεως κοινωνός. | Οὗτοι οὖν δείσαντες κατ᾽ αὐτὸ τὸν Λέοντα μὲν ἀναιροῦσιν ἔτη ἑπτὰ βασιλεύσαντα, τὸν δὲ Μιχαὴλ βασιλέα καθίστασαν.

96 Μιχαὴλ Ἀμορραῖος ὁ Τραυλός. Οὐδὲ Μιχαὴλ ὁ Ἀμορραῖος παρὰ τὴν βασιλείαν καλλίων τοὺς τρόπους ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ δόξας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀγαθὸς καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ θεῖον δόξαν εὐθύς, ἐλευθερίαν τε τῇ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων παρασχὼν προσκυνήσει, ἔπειτα πολεμεῖ ταύταις καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀρμενίου Λέοντος ἀνανεοῖ αἵρεσιν. Εὐτυχὴς δὲ τὰ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν γενόμενος πολλοὺς ἀναιρεῖ τυραννήσαντας. Υἱὸν δὲ γεννήσας Θεόφιλον ἐπωνόμασε καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν δυσσέβειαν τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ψυχῇ ἀπεμάξατο, μισόθεον ἀλλ᾽ οὐ φιλόθεον τοῦτον ἀπεργασάμενος. Ὃς δὴ καὶ μετὰ τὴν

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2 Σατύρου : eadem forma in Ecl. Hist. 373,5 (ms.; edit. Σταύρου) et in Cedr. II 43,8 **12** ἐπιπεπραμμένος **15** ἀμφιασάμενος

this, he took the tonsure together with his wife and left the palace. He lived a short time in a monastery, and was buried after his death in the convent of Satyros, having reigned one year and two months.

94 The pious Michael. This emperor descended from a splendid family and had also a high reputation himself, because of his remarkable virtue and his noble appearance. He was pious as nobody else and richly gifted with many good qualities, but too weak to be an emperor or a ruler in general: he did not take strong action against evil-doers, nor did he show much activity in state affairs. By trusting criminal and evil people he spoiled and ruined everything, less by incapacity than by simplicity. He advanced on the Bulgarians, conducted the war without due order and was seriously beaten. Leo the Armenian, at that time commander of the eastern part, saw in this a good opportunity to conspire and raise arms against him. No sooner had he heard of it than he put on a monk's habit together with his wife and children. He was confined to the island Plate near the city, where he also died. He exercised rule during two years.

95 Leo the Armenian. The emperor, the Armenian Leo, was a brave warrior who won a great number of trophies against the barbarians. His morals were not that noble and he was full of cunning. At the beginning of his rule he still suggested piety, but shortly after his behaviour changed and he insolently attacked the holy icons. His attempt to kill the leader of the Bulgarians by means of a cunning plan had not the wished for result. No sooner had this man seen through the deceit than he did great harm to the Roman empire.
And Michael the Amorian had raised the emperor's suspicion that he would usurp the throne (and, indeed, he had canvassed many conspirators for that purpose) and had been caught and imprisoned. Afraid of even worse treatment, he appealed to each of the conspirators to give the promised help. Also the so-called 'papias' (= doorkeeper of the palace) was made a party to the plan. Thus fearing repercussions they killed Leo after seven years' rule and made Michael emperor.

96 Michael the Amorian, the stammerer. Michael the Amorian turned out to be no better qualified for ruling. At first he seemed to be a good ruler and an orthodox believer of the godly dogma, and he gave permission for free worship of the holy icons; later on, however, he fought against them and renewed the heresy of Leo the Armenian. Having obtained the empire in a lucky way he disposed of many rebels. He begot a son whom he named Theophilos, but instead of making him a godbeloved person, he stamped his own godforsaken godlessness upon the soul of his son, who after succeeding

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95–3 cf. Ecl. Hist. 373,4–5, Cedr. II 43,5; vide et Georg. Mon. 776,10–11, qui autem monasterii nomen τὰ Βρακά enuntiat. **14–16** τὸ μοναδικὸν σχῆμα ... τελευτᾷ: = Ecl. Hist. 373,26–28, qui habet autem ἐτελεύτησε. < Georg. Mon. 776,20 sqq. Cf. etiam Theoph. 502,26–29, Cedr. II 48,16–49,2, C. Th. 19,15–20,2, Zon. III 319,2–6.

τοῦ πατρὸς βασιλείαν παντοδαποῖς κακοῖς τοὺς εὐσεβοῦντας περιεστοίχησεν. Ὁ γοῦν πατὴρ τούτου κατέστη παράδειγμα τῆς αἱρέσεως καὶ κῦμα ἐπὶ κύματι κατὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἡμῶν πίστεως ἤγειρε. Νεφρίτιδι δὲ νόσῳ περιπεσὼν καὶ τὴν φυσικὴν ἔκκρισιν τὸ οὖρον ἐπισχεθεὶς τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἐννέα μῆνας ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτεσιν.

97 Θεόφιλος ὁ υἱὸς Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Ἀμορραίου.
Ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεόφιλος μετὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν γυναῖκα εἰσάγεται ἑαυτῷ Θεοδώραν τὴν ἐκ Παφλαγονίας, τὴν τοῦ δικαίου Φιλαρέτου ἐγγόνην τὴν θαυμασίαν Κασίαν ἀποπεμψάμενος, εἰποῦσαν 'ἐκ γυναικὸς ἐρρύη τὰ κρείττονα', ἐκείνου προειρηκότος 'ἐκ γυναικὸς ἐρρύη τὰ φαῦλα'· ἐπλήγη γὰρ ὁ ἀλιτήριος τὴν ψυχὴν διὰ τὴν ἀμώμητον παρθένον καὶ θεομήτορα. Οὗτος οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι μεσότης ἡ δικαιοσύνη ὑπερβολῆς 〈καὶ〉 ἐλλείψεως καὶ πᾶσα ὁμοίως ἠθικὴ ἀρετὴ πλέον ἢ προσῆκε τῷ δικαίῳ προσέσχεν. Ἐντεῦθεν ἀνοηταίνων δικαιοπραγεῖν μὲν ἐδόκει, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν μελαγχολούντων διέφερεν, οὐ πρᾴως μεθιστῶν τὴν κακίαν καὶ τὸ ἄνισον μεταβάλλων εἰς τὴν ἰσότητα, ἀλλὰ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ ἀνοήτῳ ὠμότητι. Ἔνθεν τοι καὶ ἀναισθήτως τὴν βασιλείαν διήνεγκε. Καὶ τελευτᾷ ἔτη βιοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ δώδεκα.

98 Μιχαὴλ ὁ υἱὸς Θεοφίλου καὶ Θεοδώρα ἡ ὀρθόδοξος αὐτοῦ μήτηρ.
Ἡ μὲν βασίλισσα Θεοδώρα πιστοτάτη ὁμοῦ καὶ συνετωτάτη, ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ ὁ υἱὸς τὴν μὲν ὀρθὴν δόξαν ἐπρέσβευεν, ἀνοητότατος δὲ ξυμπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο. Ἐντεῦθεν γοῦν οὐ τοὺς τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς κανόνας ἐτήρησεν, ἵππων δὲ ἁμίλλαις τοσοῦτον προσεῖχε τὸν νοῦν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἁρματηλατεῖν καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τέλει τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἀναπείθειν. Τὸν δὲ ἐκ Μακεδονίας Βασίλειον ὑπερηγάπα τῆς γενναιότητος καὶ ἑτοίμως μὲν βασιλέα ἐποίει, ἑτοιμότερον δὲ καθῄρει. Εἶτα ὑπόπτως εἶχεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν προσέταττεν, ὁ δὲ περὶ τούτῳ δείσας σύνταγμα ἐπιβουλῆς ποιησάμενος προσέλαβε τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον καὶ ἐξαπιναίως ἐπεισπεσὼν ἀναιρεῖ ἔχων μὲν ὅ τι εἴποι περὶ τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀναιρέσεως εὔλογον, οὐ δίκαιον μέντοιγε πρᾶγμα πεποιηκώς. Καὶ ἀναιρεῖται ὁ Μιχαὴλ ἔτη βασιλεύσας ἓξ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσιν.

99 Βασίλειος ὁ Μακεδών. Ὁ ἐκ Μακεδονίας Βασίλειος ἔτυχε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς μαντείας τινὸς ἔτι ἰδιώτης ὤν, ὡς ἐπιβήσεται τῆς βασιλείου ἀρχῆς. Οὐ μὴν ἀνέμεινε τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐννόμου πρὸς τὸ κράτος ἀναβάσεως, ἀλλὰ τὸν τοῦ Θεοφίλου υἱὸν Μιχαὴλ ἀνελὼν οὕτω παρανόμως ἔτυχε

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41 τὸ οὖρον : glossema esse mihi videtur, sed fortasse est legendum τῶν οὔρων compar. Zon. III 352, 3–5 (*vide comm.*) **48** τὴν^2 : τὸν **49** καὶ inserui compar. Aristot. *Eth. Nicom.* 1106 b **52** τὴν : τῶν **59** τοὺς : τὸν **66** αὐτοκρατόρου

40–42 cf. Zon. III 352,3–5 Ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ Μιχαὴλ ἐπὶ ἔτη ὀκτὼ καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα ἀπολαύσας

to his father's throne assailed the orthodox with all sorts of evil. Thus, his father served his example for the heresy by whipping up wave on wave against our holy faith. He fell ill of nephritis which blocked the natural secretion [of urine] and caused his death after a reign of eight years and nine months.

97 Theophilos the son of Michael the Amorian. After his accession to the throne the emperor Theophilos married Theodora from Paphlagonia, having rejected the granddaughter of the righteous Philaretos, the admirable Kasia, because she had said "the better things arose from the female" on his previous remark "the female caused the inferior". The sinner was, of course, struck in his soul by the immaculate Virgin and Mother of God.
Without the notion that justice preserves the happy medium between exaggeration and deficiency — indeed, the same holds true for every ethical virtue —, he excessively pursued what should be just. Hence he gave the impression of trying to be honest, but in so stupid a way that he became no better than the melancholics; for neither did he oppose evil nor gently turn unfairness into fairness, but with fire and sword and foolish cruelty. Thus his rule was a blockhead's rule. He died after an emperor's life of twelve years.

98 Michael the son of Theophilos and Theodora his orthodox mother.
The empress Theodora was very religious and very sensible as well; her son Michael also supported the orthodox faith, but he was the most foolish of all men. That is why he did not observe quite canonically the doctrines of orthodoxy, but his interest in horse-racing was so great that he himself drove a chariot and exhorted many high officials to do the same. His greatest favourite was the Macedonian Basilius, because of his bravery; but eager as he was to make him emperor he was even more eager to get rid of him. He developed a great suspicion against him and ordered his death; the other, however, foresaw this threat, formed a conspiracy and was prepared to kill him by any means. He suddenly attacked and killed him, having, to be sure, every rational reason available for murdering the emperor, but carrying out, nevertheless, an unjust deed.
Michael was killed after ruling twenty-six years.

99 Basilius the Macedonian. Basilius from Macedonia had received personally an oracle, when he was still a private citizen, that he once would possess the imperial power. Indeed, he waited not for the moment of his regular rise to power, but he obtained the empire in an irregular way by killing Theophilos'

τῆς βασιλείας νεφρίτιδι νόσῳ καὶ ἐπισχέσει τῶν οὔρων ἢ δυσεντερίᾳ (λέγεται γὰρ καὶ ἄμφω) κατέστρεψε τὴν ζωήν, ... *Vide* et *comm.* **49** cf. Aristot. *E. N.* 1106 b. **51** δικαιοπραγεῖν: cf. Zon. III 357,6 δικαιοπραγίας **60** ἵππων δὲ ἁμίλλαις –**62** ἀναπείθειν: cf. Zon. III 397,16–398,7. Vide et C. Th. 172,9 sqq., Scyl. cap. 10 (96,30 sqq.), Man. 5065. **62** ὑπερηγάπα: cf. Anon. Sath. 141,12 ἠγάπα τε τὸν Βασίλειον ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας. De re vide et Zon. III 412,8 sqq.

τῆς ἀρχῆς. Οἱ δὲ τοῦ πονηροῦ τούτου σκέμματος τῷ Βασιλείῳ συλλήπτορες πολλοῖς ἐμπαρέντες καὶ δυστήνοις κακοῖς οὕτω τὸν βίον τετελευτήκασι, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Βασίλειος πόλεμον συνάψας Σαρακηνοῖς καὶ ἡττηθεὶς μικροῦ δεῖν ἑαλώκει, εἰ μὴ ὁ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ὕστερον Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Ἀβαστάκτου πατὴρ τῆς ἁλώσεως ἠλευθέρωσεν. Ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος τὴν μὲν ἰσχὺν κραταιός, συγκεχυμένος δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ σφοδρὸς τὴν ὀργήν· ἀμέλει τοι Φώτιον μὲν τηνικαῦτα τὸν πατριάρχην ἐν τῷ μέλλειν αὐτὸν ἀναδεῖσθαι τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῷ φόνον προσονειδίσαντα, ὑπερόριον αὐτίκα ποιεῖται· καὶ τὸν παῖδα Λέοντα τὸν Φιλόσοφον σὺν αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντα συκοφαντηθέντα καθείργνυσι δέον τὴν αἰτίαν ἐξακριβώσασθαι. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναιρέσεως ὥσπερ ἀπολογούμενος τῷ θεῷ, διότι Μιχαὴλ ἀνῃρήκει, ναοὺς τῷ ἀρχιστρατήγῳ Μιχαὴλ ἐκ βάθρων ἐδείματο, τὸν δὲ Θεσβίτην Ἠλίαν ἐξόχως τιμῶν ᾤετο συμπετασθήσεσθαι τούτῳ ποτὲ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν συναχθήσεσθαι. Ἐπὶ τούτου οὖν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος σεισμοὶ κατὰ πόλεις γεγόνασι καὶ ἡ Κωνσταντίνου ἐφ' ἡμέραις κεκίνητο μ΄. Ἔσχε δὲ καὶ δύο παῖδας ἑτέρους, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον, περὶ οὗ ἄτοπός τις λόγος περιθρυλεῖται, ὡς τεθνηκότα ἐβούλετο ὁ πατὴρ ζῶντα αὖθις ἰδεῖν καί τινες τῶν γοήτων ἐμψυχωμένον αὐτῷ τοῦτον ἐφάντασαν. Ἐπιβουλὰς πολλὰς καὶ πολλάκις φωράσας τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῷ παντοδαπαῖς τιμωρίαις ὑπέβαλε. Κυνηγοῦντα δὲ ἔλαφός τις τῇ ζώνῃ τοῦτον ἐξάρας τῷ κέρατι μικροῦ δεῖν ἀνηλώκει, εἰ μή τις τῶν δορυφόρων γυμνώσας τὸ ξίφος καὶ τὴν ζώνην τεμὼν ἐξεῖλε τοῦ κινδύνου τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ὃν τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτίκα ἀφείλετο, ὅτι ξίφος ἐπὶ βασιλέα γυμνώσειε· ταύτην γὰρ αὐτῷ αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου πεποίηται. Πληγεὶς δὲ τὸ σῶμα τῷ κέρατι καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα διαταραχθεὶς βραχὺν ἐπιβιώσας χρόνον μεταλλάττει τὸ ζῆν, ἐννέα ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχών.

100 Λέων ὁ υἱὸς Βασιλείου ὁ σοφὸς τὰ πολλά. Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς σοφίας ἐκτόπως γέγον⟨εν⟩ ἐραστής, οὐ μόνον τῆς κοινῆς ταύτης καὶ νενομισμένης, ἣν Πλάτων ἐξῆρε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ⟨ἐξήνεγκεν⟩ ἐν πολλοῖς γε βιβλίοις ὕστερον ἀκριβώσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀπορρητοτέρας, ἧς Πυθαγόρας ἦρξε καὶ Ἀρχύτας ἐζήλωσε διὰ κρυφίων τινῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἐπῳδῶν ἐπιρρήτων κινοῦντες, ὅ φασι, τὰ ἀκίνητα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα καταμαντευόμενοι. Ἐξηγητὴς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ διδάσκαλος τούτων ἐγεγόνει ἕτερός τις

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87 καταπόλεις **91** ἐμψυχωμένων **6** γέγον ἐραστής **7** ἐξῆρε : fortasse legendum ἐξηῦρε , *vide comm.* ἐξήνεγκεν addidi, *vide comm.* γε : δὲ ; possis δὴ **8** ἀκριβώσαντες *vide comm.* **10** ἐπιρρήτων : sic ms. Fortasse legendum ἀπορρήτων

75—77 cf. Zon. III 419,10—14 Κατὰ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐκστρατεύσας ἡττήθη, ... καὶ ἑάλω δ' ἂν καὶ αὐτός, εἰ μὴ ὁ Ἀβάστακτος Θεοφύλακτος ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλεύσαντος, τοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Λακαπηνοῦ, αὐτὸν διεσώσατο. **85—86** cf. Zon. III 432,13—15 ... τῷ προφήτῃ Ἠλιοὺ τῷ Θεσβίτῃ ναὸν ἀνεγείρας· ἐτίμα γὰρ τοῦτον διαφερόντως καὶ ᾤετο προσληφθήσεσθαί ποτε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πυρίνῳ συνεπαρθήσεσθαι ἅρματι. **86—88** *vide comm.* **93—4** cf. Zon. III 439,11—440,9 ... (17) καὶ τάχα ἂν

son Michael. Those, however, who had been Basilius' accomplices in this dirty plot got stuck in many disastrous troubles and ended thus their lives; and Basilius himself, having started war against the Saracens, was defeated and would have been captured, had not the father of the later emperor Romanos Abastaktos rescued him. The man was, unquestionably, very strong of body, but disturbed of mind and dangerous when angry. At any rate, when Photios, then patriarch, shortly before his coronation critisized him because of the murder of the emperor, he had him banished immediately; his son and co-emperor, Leo the philosopher, he threw into prison on trumped-up charges whereas he should first have investigated the matter thoroughly. But as if he wanted to excuse himself before God for having murdered the emperor, he had brand-new churches built in honour of the archangel Michael, because he had killed a Michael, and he cherished a special devotion to Elia the Thesbite and he believed he would once fly away together with him and be taken away with him from here. Now, under this emperor's rule there were earthquakes in several towns, and the city of Constantine moved for forty days.
He still begot two other sons, Alexander and Constantine. About the latter circulates an odd story, namely that his father after his death wished to see him alive again, and that some of the wizards made him appear as with the breath of life in his father's presence. He detected numerous conspiracies and often subjected the conspirators to all sorts of punishments.
Once when hunting he was lifted up and nearly killed by a stag which had put its antlers under his belt, but one of the guardsmen drew his sword, cut the belt and rescued the emperor from danger: the man was beheaded on the spot, because he had bared his sword against the emperor, at least that argument was given for his death. But he turned out to be seriously hit by the antlers and deeply wounded internally: he lost his life shortly after, having reigned nineteen years.

100 Leo the son of Basilius, the wise in most respects. The emperor Leo was a special lover of philosophy, not only philosophy in the normal and accepted sense, such as was elevated to a scientific level by Plato and later further specified by Aristotle in many books, but also the more esoteric philosophy, the inventor of which was Pythagoras in competition with Archytas; these two, by some occult forces and foul enchantments, made move the immovable, as they say, and foretold the future. His interpreter and

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ἠνάλωτο, εἰ μή τις φθάσας καὶ ξίφει τεμὼν τὴν ζώνην αὐτὸν διεσώσατο. ᾧ καὶ σῶστρα καλὰ δέδωκεν ὁ ὑπ' ἐκείνου σωθεὶς τὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκτομήν, καὶ ἡ σκῆψις ὡς εὐπρεπής· „ὅτι ξίφος" ἔφη „ἐπὶ βασιλέα γυμνώσειε" ... (5) ὁ δὲ πληγεὶς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῷ κέρατι καὶ περιδινηθεὶς τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐπεβίω μέν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς μακρόν· ... Vide et Ps. Sym. 699,16–22.
5 cf. Zon. III 445,14 ... (ἦν γὰρ ἐραστὴς σοφίας παντοδαπῆς καὶ αὐτῆς δῆτα τῆς ἀπορρήτου, ᾗ δι' ἐπῳδῶν μαντεύεται τὰ ἐσόμενα, καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων δ' ἐσχολάκει κινήσεις καὶ τὴν ἐκ τούτων ἀποτελεσματικὴν ἐπιστήμην μετήρχετο, καὶ εὕρισκεν ὡς ἕξει παῖδα τῆς βασιλείας διάδοχον) ...

Λέων φιλόσοφος καὶ αὐτὸς πάσας μαντείας καὶ γοητείας ἀρρήτῳ δυνάμει
274v ἐπιστάμενος. Οὐ ταύτης δὲ μόνον τῆς σοφίας ἔρωτα | εἶχεν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν ῥητορικὴν τέχνην ἐσπούδαζε καὶ λόγους ἐξενηνόχει, εἰς μὲν τὸν ἀρχαῖον τύπον βιαζομένους, οὐ μέντοιγε κάλλη ἀφιέντας, οὐδὲ χάριτας ἔχοντας, οὐδὲ μετακεχειρισμένους σοφιστικῶς, οὐδὲ λαμπρῶς ἀπηγγελμένους καὶ δεξιῶς. Διεσπουδάκει δὲ καὶ περὶ ἐπιστολὰς εὐπαιδευσίας μὲν ἐχούσας ἐπίδειξιν, οὐ μὴν ἱλαρὰς οὐδὲ διατιθείσας εὖ τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας. Ἐβούλετο μὲν οὐ τοὺς λόγους μόνον, ἀλλὰ ⟨καὶ⟩ τὰ πολέμια δεινὸς εἶναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐβιάζετο μὲν τὴν φύσιν, ἡ δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν. Ὅθεν ὁσάκις πόλεμον βαρβάροις συνῆψε, διέφθειρε τὰ στρατόπεδα. Φώτιον δὲ τὸν πατριάρχην ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς τὸν πατριαρχικὸν αὖθις ἀποκαταστάντα θρόνον τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάλιν ἐξήλασε καὶ ἐξελάσας συκοφαντούμενον εἰς κρίσιν ἐξέδοτο, καὶ λαμπρῶς τὴν νίκην νικήσαντα αὖθις ἀπήλασε. Λέγεται δὲ μὴ παῖδα τοῦ Βασιλείου τοῦτον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Μιχαήλ, † ὅτε πρὸς τὴν τούτου γαμετὴν ἠγάγετο ὁ Βασίλειος ἔγκυον ἐκ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ εἶχε τὸν Λέοντα †. Ἔνθεν τοι καὶ ὁ Λέων τὴν τοιαύτην ὑποπτεύων γονὴν θαυμασίως τεθνηκότα τὸν βασιλέα τετίμηκε Μιχαὴλ τοῦ τάφου μὲν ὑπεξαγαγὼν οὗ ἐτέθη, ἐπὶ βασιλείου δὲ κλίνης αὐτὸν θέμενος καὶ πομπὴν τὴν ἐκφορὰν ποιησάμενος καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ναῷ λαμπρῶς καταθέμενος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ εἶχε διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς (ἐβούλετο δὲ ἐξ ἐννόμου γάμου τοῦτον ποιήσασθαι), τρεῖς δὲ γυναῖκας ἀμείψας οὐκ ἔτεκε, καὶ τετάρτην ἐννόμως εἰσοικίσασθαι ἔσπευδε. Τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν τοῦτο ἀπαγορευόντων κανόνων αὐτὸς ἐβιάζετο· ὅθεν τέταρτον γάμον καινοτομεῖ καὶ παῖδα ἐκεῖθεν τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον ποιεῖται. Καὶ ὅσοι μὲν τῶν τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου τὸν γάμον τοῦτον συντετολμήκασι φίλους καὶ προσηγόρους ἐνόμιζεν, ὅσοι δὲ ἀντειρήκασι τὸ μὲν θεῖον ἐσχήκασιν εὐμενές, τὴν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως δυσμένειαν οὐ πεφεύγασιν. Οὗτος μέντοιγε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Στέφανον ἐς τὸν τῆς πατριαρχίας θρόνον ἀναβιβάζει καὶ πλεῖστα ἕτερα τὰ μὲν κάλλιστα, τὰ δὲ χείριστα διαπεπραγμένος τελευτᾷ τὴν ζωήν, βασιλεύσας ἔτη πέντε ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσι, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀλέξανδρον μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέα προχειρισάμενος, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἡγεμονίας θέμενος, τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ παιδαγωγεῖσθαι καὶ βασιλικῶς ἀνάγεσθαι ἐντειλάμενος.

101 Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Λέοντος. Ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδὲν τῷ πατρὶ ἐοικὼς Βασιλείῳ οὔτε τὸ ἦθος οὔτε τὸν λόγον, κοττάβοις ἑαυτὸν ἐκδεδώκει καὶ κύβοις. Γαστρί τε κοίλῃ ἐχρήσατο καὶ αὐλητρίδας

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15 κάλλη : κάλλει **19** ⟨καὶ⟩ addidi **24** νικήσας *vide comm.* **26** Sententiam corruptione affectam esse perclarum est. *Vide comm.* **27** ἔγγυον **38** δυσμένειαν : εὐμένειαν **47** οὐδὲν : οὐδὲν οὔτε

25–27 *vide comm.* **44–45** cf. Scyl. 192,35–37 ... καὶ πολλὰ παρακαλέσας τὸν αὐτοῦ υἱὸν Κωνσταντῖνον παιδοτροφῆσαι καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦν προσηκούσης, ..., Zon. III 455,8–10 ... τὴν αὐταρχίαν τῷ ἀδελφῷ κατέλιπεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ παρα-

teacher in these matters was another Leo, a philosopher, who also understood all sorts of oracles, and witchcraft by secret force. But not only in this form of wisdom did the emperor show his interest, he occupied himself with rhetoric art as well, producing literary works, forced, indeed, into the classical type, but lacking beauty. They missed, moreover, charms, elaborate composition and colourful or adequate diction. He specialized also in the art of letter-writing. His letters showed, therefore, considerable skill, but were lacking in cheerfulness and missing the ability to grip their readers.
Not only in literature, also in war-fare did he want to be great, but that did violence to his nature, which refused to obey. Therefore, every time he started hostilities against the barbarians, he ruined his armies.
The patriarch Photius had been restored by his father to the patriarchal see. Now he was again chased away from the church and after his dismissal brought into court on false charges; he triumphantly refuted every charge but nevertheless was banished.
The story goes that Leo was not the son of Basilius, but of Michael. For at the moment that Basilius married Michael's wife, it is said that she was with child of Michael, and thus he had Leo for a son. It was also for that reason that Leo, presuming such descent, had honoured the dead emperor Michael by exhuming him from the grave where he had been buried. He had his corpse laid on the imperial bier, his funeral officially escorted and his body magnificently interred in the Church of the Apostles. Because he could not get a successor to the throne (and he wanted one only through a legal marriage) and he had not succeeded in begetting a son with three wives, he tried to make a fourth one his legal wife. Though forbidden by the holy canonic rules, he broke the law: so he managed to push his fourth marriage through and begot by it a son, Constantine. Those members of the holy synod who had dared to accept this marriage he considered friends and supporters; those, however, who had declared themselves against it kept God's grace well-disposed, indeed, but lost the emperor's goodwill.
This emperor enthroned also his brother Stephanos on the patriarchal see and he brought about many other things, both good and bad, and he died after a reign of twenty-five years. Before he died he appointed his brother Alexander together with his son Constantine emperors, laying the leading power in the hands of his brother and giving instruction that his son should be educated by his uncle and prepared for the emperorship.

101 Alexander, Leo's brother. This emperor Alexander resembled his father Basilius neither in character nor in words and indulged in playing cottabos and gambling. His appetite was insatiable, female flautists were his regular

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δέδωκεν, ἀξιώσας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνάγειν βασιλικῶς καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καταλιπεῖν· ... *Vide* et *comm.* 42–45. **47–48** cf. Zon. III 456,4–5 ... ὁ βασιλεὺς οὑτοσὶ οὐδὲν ἐοικὸς εἰργάσατο βασιλεῖ, ἀλλὰ τρυφαῖς καὶ θήραις καὶ ἀσελγείαις ἐξέδωκεν ἑαυτόν, ... *Vide* et *comm.* **48** γαστρί τε κοίλῃ ἐχρήσατο: cf. Zon. III 457,13 κοίλῃ χρησάμενος τῇ γαστρί.

ἐνόμιζε καὶ μίξεσι παρανόμοις ἠγάλλετο καὶ ἐπήγγελλεν ἐπὶ τούτοις υ′ σιτία. Χρυσῷ δὲ ἐποικίλλετο καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐφεστρίδων διεσπουδάκει βαφάς. Βασίλειον δὲ ἔργον αὐτῷ οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν οὐδὲ μέχρις ὀνείρατος, παρέτεινε δὲ καὶ ἐς μέσας νύκτας συμποσιάζων. Ἅπαξ οὖν μέθῃ πολλῇ κατάσχετος γεγονώς, εἶτα σφαιρίσαι προθέμενος καὶ κατατείνας ἑαυτὸν διαρρήγνυται, ἔτος ἓν ἐφ᾽ ἑνὶ μηνὶ διαπαίξας τὴν βασιλείαν.

102 Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ υἱὸς Λέοντος. Παιδίον ἔτι ὢν ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδέχεται, ὅθεν ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόποις ἐτέλει. Καὶ παρὰ τῶν τότε δυναστῶν καὶ λογίων καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ τῆς μητρὸς τὴν ἀρχικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐξεπαιδεύετο. Διὸ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀτόπων ἐπράττετο, οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ ἐκαινοτομεῖτο, τῶν παιδαγωγούντων τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν μὲν τάδε προαιρουμένων, τῶν δὲ τὰ ἀντίθετα. Πολυαρχία γάρ, οὐ μοναρχία ἦν τὸ γινόμενον καὶ οὐδὲ ἀριστοκρατία, ἀλλ᾽ ἀρχή τις συγκεχυμένη καὶ ἄτακτος. Τὸ γὰρ ἀριστοκρατεῖν, εἰ πρὸς ὁμόνοιάν τις ἀγάγοι, ἔννομόν ἐστιν ἄντικρυς καὶ ἐπιστασία βασιλική. Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ὅσοι τὰ κοινὰ διεχείριζον κἀν τοῖς ἀρχείοις διέπρεπον, ἐπρώτευε δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν σύνεσιν Ῥωμανὸς ὁ Ἀβάστακτος, ὃν χωρίον μὲν ἡ Λάκαπα ἤνεγκεν, ἡ δὲ βασιλεία ὕστερον ἄγαν ἐκήρυξεν. Οὗτος γοῦν ὁ Ῥωμανὸς τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης τότε ἔχων ἀρχὴν καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἰσχύων τὸν βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον ἐπαιδαγώγει καὶ διερρύθμιζε. Πείθει γοῦν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἑλένην γυναῖκα λαβεῖν ὀμόσας καθ᾽ ἱερῶν μήτε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιβῆναι μήτε ἄλλο τι βουλεύσασθαι ἐναντίον αὐτῷ. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπελέληστο πάντων καὶ πρόφασιν λαμπρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ κήδους λαβὼν περιτίθεται τὸ διάδημα. Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν παῖδα Χριστοφόρον κοινωνὸν ποιεῖται τῆς βασιλείας. Εἶτα τὸν ἕτερον υἱὸν Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ αὖθις τὸν τελευταῖον Στέφανον, καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα τούτῳ ἐπήρκεσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδίον ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ Χριστοφόρου γεγενημένον Ῥωμανόν τε ὠνόμασε καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἠξίωσε. Καὶ εἰς παρανομωτάτην πολυαρχίαν τὴν ἔννομον βασιλείαν μεθίστησι. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τῆς βασιλείας τιμῆς εἶχεν ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ ἔννομος βασιλεύς, καὶ τὰ δευτερεῖα ὁ πενθερὸς Ῥωμανός, εἶθ᾽ ἑξῆς οἱ παῖδες κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἕκαστος. Οὕτως ἐν βήμασιν, οὕτως ἐν συνεδρίοις, οὕτως ἐν συμποσίοις, οὕτως ἐν πανηγύρεσιν, οὕτως ἐν βασιλείοις πομπαῖς. Εἶτά τι τῶν δευτερείων ὁ Ῥωμανὸς μεθεκτὸς ἐπιλαμβάνεται τῶν πρωτείων ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἀπέχρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Χριστοφόρον τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου προτίθησι καὶ τέλος τοὺς ἑτέρους δύο υἱούς. Καὶ

49 υ′ : υ sine signo **50** σιτία: σίτια . Legendum ἐπὶ τούτοις συσσίτια? **53** σφηρίσαι **62** τὸ : τῶ

53 σφαιρίσαι προθέμενος ... διαρρήγνυται: cf. Zon. III 457,14—15 ... σφαιρίσαι προέθετο· καὶ κατατείνας τὸ σῶμα ... ῥῆξιν ὑπέστη, ... **54** *vide comm.* **71—77** cf. Zon. III 472,8—14: Ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ Ῥωμανὸς ἀπληστευσάμεμος ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς βασιλείας ἀρχῇ καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπιλελησμένος τῶν ὅρκων, οὓς ὠμωμόκει καθ᾽ ἱερῶν, καὶ μὴ ἀρκούμενος ὅτι ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν

company, he gloried in irregular forms of sex. Four hundred portions of food were often ordered for these parties. He loved to adorn himself with various golden ornaments and paid special attention to the dyes of his mantles. He accomplished not a single imperial deed, not even in his dream, continuing his drinking-bouts until dead of night. Once fully drunk he proposed to play polo, strained himself and died of a stroke, having played his emperor-game during one year and one month.

102 Constantine, the son of Leo. While still a child Constantine succeeded to the empire. Hence he exercised power through tutors. His instruction in the art of how to rule an empire was in the hands of the current leaders, scholars, the patriarch himself and his mother, with the effect that many foolish measures were taken and not a few novelties were introduced, because some of the imperial pedagogues preferred this, some of them the reverse. What resulted was a polyarchy, not a monarchy, not even an aristocracy, only a confused and disorderly government. Indeed, an aristocratic form of ruling, if led towards unanimity by someone, is absolutely legal and has imperial authority. As has been said, there were many persons at that time who occupied themselves with public affairs and distinguished themselves in their offices, but the most clever among them was Romanos Abastaktos, born in a village named Lakapa, only too well reputed later by his emperorship. This Romanos was at that moment commander of the fleet and surpassed the others, thanks to his strong personality, in contributing to Constantine's education and training. At any rate he persuaded him to marry his daughter Helena, albeit after swearing an oath on the Holy Mystery that he would not take over the government nor undertake anything else against him. He forgot everything, however, and put on the diadem, finding a brilliant argument in his being related to the emperor. This was not the only bad thing, but he also made his son Christophoros partner of the empire. And next also his second son Constantine and again the youngest, Stephanos, and even that did not suffice for him, for he had the child of his son Christophoros named Romanos and regarded worthy of the empire. Thus he transformed legal emperorship into a highly illegal polyarchy. The highest imperial position was held, indeed, by the proper emperor Constantine, the second place by his father-in-law Romanos, and so forth by each of the sons according to their age. This order was observed at the theatre, at conferences, at banquets, at festivals and at imperial processions. Then, holding the second position, Romanos also took over the first position at all the occasions mentioned and was not satisfied even by that, for he placed Christophoros above Constantine, and finally also his two other sons. Thus became the first the fifth, and the natural inheritor

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τῶν υἱέων πρεσβύτερον ἠξίωσε διαδήματος, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς δύο τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ βασιλικῶς τεταινίωκεν, εἶτα καὶ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Χριστοφόρου γενόμενον αὐτῷ υἱωνόν, καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀντὶ βασιλείας εἰς πολυαρχίαν μετήνεγκε. *Vide* et *comm.* **81–84** cf. Zon. III 474,8–17. *Vide comm.*

γίνεται πέμπτος ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔμφυτος τῆς ἀρχῆς κληρονόμος οἷον παρήορος. Ὁ γὰρ μικρὸς Ῥωμανὸς ὁ τοῦ Χριστοφόρου υἱὸς ἐτεθνήκει. Εἶτα τί γίνεται; Οἱ παρ' ἀξίαν τυχόντες τοῦ κράτους παῖδες τοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ ἐπιβουλεύουσι τῷ εὐεργετηκότι πατρὶ καὶ πονηρὸν σκέμμα συνθέμενοι 275r τῶν | βασιλείων τοῦτον κατάγουσι καὶ εἰς νῆσον περιορίζουσιν. Ὡς δὲ τοῦ σκοποῦ τετυχήκασι, δευτέραν βουλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον ἀρτύουσι. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνεξικακεῖ μέχρι παντὸς ὁ θεός, ἀλλὰ βέλη ἐπὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς πυρφόρα ἀφίησι. Προγινώσκει γὰρ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος τὰ πονηρὰ τούτων διανοήματα καὶ προλαμβάνει τὴν ἔφοδον τούτων, οὕτως εἰπεῖν, καὶ συμβούλοις εὔνοις πρὸς τοῦτο χρησάμενος κατάγει τούτους τῶν βασιλείων καὶ περιορίζει μακράν. Εἶτα καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αἰτησαμένῳ ἀντιπροσώπους ἱστᾷ καὶ δρᾶμα ὅλον ἐπὶ τούτοις συνίσταται. Ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ἐφ' ἡλικίας γενόμενος τῶν ὅλων ἀντιλαμβάνεται καὶ συμβασιλεύει τῇ γεννησαμένῃ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους ἀποσκευάζεται, τίκτει δὲ παῖδα τὸν νεώτερον Ῥωμανὸν καὶ γυναῖκα τούτῳ εἰσοικίζεται τὴν Θεοφανώ, τῶν ἀγενῶν μέν, ἄγαλμα δὲ κάλλους ἄντικρυς καὶ θελκτηρίους χάριτας ἀφιεῖσαν τῆς ὄψεως. Προσέκειτο δὲ καὶ λόγοις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος. Ἐπιστολαὶ γοῦν αὐτῷ εὕρηνται παιδείαν ἐμφαίνουσαι καὶ δημηγορίαι λογικὴν ἕξιν ἐπιδεικνύμεναι, καὶ συγγράμματά τινα εἰς μὲν τέχνην οὐκ ἀπεικονισμένα, οὐδὲν δὲ ὅμως σχῆμα ὀκνήσαντα. Καὶ περὶ ῥυθμοὺς δὲ ἐσπούδαζε καὶ μέτρα παντοδαπά. Ἀμέλει τοι καὶ θανοῦσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα ἰαμβείοις ἐκόσμησεν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἐξενηνόχει κομμωτικά. Καὶ χαύνοις διαρρέοντα ἤθεσι καὶ διατιθέντα ἐν ἡδονῇ τὰ μειράκια ἀκούω τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τῶν λόγων ἀντιποιούμενον καὶ κοινωνοὺς περὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἔχοντα, ὁποίους καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ τυραννήσας ἐν Σικελίᾳ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπεποίητο. Χολῆς μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐκράτει, ἀλλ' ἐθυμοῦτο αὐτίκα, αὖθις δὲ κατεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐπανελάμβανε καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἐρρύθμιζεν. Ὅλην δὲ τὴν ζωὴν βασιλεύσας πέντε ἐπὶ τοῖς πεντήκοντα ἔτεσι βιοὺς τελευτᾷ, τῷ παιδὶ Ῥωμανῷ τὴν βασιλείαν καταλιπών.

103 Ῥωμανὸς ὁ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου παῖς. Οὐ παιδίον οὗτος ὁ Ῥωμανός, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀβάστακτον Ῥωμανὸν βασιλέα παραμετρούμενος οὕτως ὠνόμασται. Τεσσαρακονταέτης γὰρ ἐτεθνήκει. Παιδαριώδης δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ζωὴ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀγνοήσαντι οἷον τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα. Κατ-

11 ἰαμβείοις : ἰαμβοῖς **16** ἐπαναλάμβανε **21** ὀνόμασται τεσσαρακοντήτης

84–86 ~ Zon. III 474,17–475,2 καὶ ὁ πρῶτος πέμπτος ἐγένετο ... ἦν οὖν ὁ αὐθιγενὴς βασιλεὺς καὶ ᾧ κατὰ κλῆρον ἡ βασιλεία διέφερεν ὥσπερ παρέγγραπτος. **86** ~ Zon. III 474,17–18 ... εἰ μὴ μικρὸς Ῥωμανὸς ὁ τοῦ Χριστοφόρου υἱὸς ἔφθη θανών, ... **4** εἰσοικίζεται κτλ.: cf. Zon. III 485,5 ... ἑτέραν ἀγαγέσθαι αὐτῷ γαμετήν, καὶ συνοικίζει αὐτῷ κόρην, τύχης μὲν χαμερποῦς ἢ καὶ χυδαίας ..., τὸ δὲ εἶδος εὐπρεστάτην, ἄντικρυς ἄγαλμα πλασθεῖσαν ... Cf. et Scyl. 240,82–86: ... οὔ τινα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ χυδαίων ... C. Th. 458,9 habet autem ... ἐξ εὐγενῶν προγόνων κτλ. **7–12** ~ Zon. 482,17–483,5.

of the crown no more than an outrunner. By the way, the young Romanos, Christophoros' son, had died.

What happened next? The sons of Romanos, who had by chance obtained a power they did not deserve, conspired against their father and benefactor, and having organized their base plan they expelled him from the palace and banished him to an island. Having realized their aim they prepared a second plot against Constantine. God, however, does not bear evil till the bitter end, he shoots his burning arrows towards the wrong-doers. For Constantine detected their devious intentions and anticipated, so to say, their attack, chased them away from the palace with the help of loyal advisers and banished them far away. Later he confronted them with their father at his request and made a very dramatic scene of these events.

Constantine had now also become grown-up and he assumed full power. He reigned together with his mother but removed the tutors. He begot a son, Romanos the younger, whom he made marry Theophano, a girl of humble birth but a picture of absolute beauty with eyes that radiated the most tempting charms.

This emperor occupied himself also with literature. There exist letters from his hand which demonstrate his education, and logically composed speeches. There are treatises which miss the professional touch of expression but show not the slightest hesitation in applying every rhetorical figure. Rhythms and all sorts of metres had his attention. At any rate, when his wife had died, he honoured her with an iambic poem and he published other similar artful poems. I understand that the man was subject to frivolous morals and disposed of boys for pleasure, but on the other hand that he exercised a great interest in theoretical matters and also had companions at dinner in the same way as Dionysios the tyrant of Sicily had surrounded himself with men who shared his interests. Not being able to control his temper he raised Cain for nothing, but a moment later he had himself in hand again and resumed his normal bearing. Having been emperor his whole life he died at the age of fifty-five years and left the empire to his son Romanos.

103 Romanos, the child of Constantine. This Romanos was no child any more, but he was called thus to distinguish him from the emperor Romanos Abastaktos. For wasn't he forty when he died? His way of life was, however, childish and he had absolutely no conception of imperial dignity. Thus he

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Vide et Scyl. 237,23–30, Glyk. 561,13–17. Laudationem copiosam invenies in C. Th. 445,6–452,19, sed pauca de litteris. **19–21** οὐ παιδίον κτλ.: cf. Zon. III 490,4 ... ὁ υἱὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ Ῥωμανός, ὃς καὶ παιδίον ἐλέγετο ... παιδίον δ' ἐλέγετο, οὐχ ὅτι παιδικῆς ὢν ἡλικίας τῆν βασιλείας ἐκράτησεν (ἤδη γὰρ ἀνδράσι συντέτακτο), ἀλλ' ἀντιδιαστελλόμενος πρὸς τὸν μητροπάτορα Ῥωμανόν ... **21** παιδαριώδης: cf. Zon. III 490,9–11 εἰ δέ τις εἴποι παιδίον αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι, ὅτι καὶ παιδαριώδης ἦν αὐτῷ ἡ ζωή, καὶ τοῦτο τῷ ἐκείνου ἤθει ἁρμοδιώτατον.

ωλιγωρήκει γοῦν πάσης βασιλικῆς πράξεως καὶ μάλιστα τὰς τῶν στρατοπέδων διέλυσε φάλαγγας. Πανημερίοις δὲ μίμοις γελοίων καὶ θεάτροις ἐσχόλαζε, περί τε τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐμεμήνει περί τε τὰ ἱππηλάσια ἐκεχήνει καὶ περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια ἐπεφύκει. Ὡς δ' οἱ βάρβαροι πάντα ἄρδην ἀπολωλέκασι καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πᾶσαν κατέδραμον καὶ μάλιστα ὁ τῆς Κρήτης καθηγεμὼν πάντα συνέχεε πράγματα, ἀπορίᾳ τε συνείχετο καὶ πρὸς τὴν μόνην καὶ τελευταίαν καταφεύγει ἐλπίδα, ⟨Νικηφόρον λέγω τὸν Φωκᾶν,⟩ ἄνδρα οἷον οὐκ ἄλλον ἡ φύσις ἐξήνεγκε καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖον, καὶ πολὺν κατὰ σύνεσιν. Βάρδας δὲ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἑῴας πεπίστευτο, τοῦ υἱοῦ μὲν ἔχων τὰ δευτερεῖα, οὐ παρὰ πολὺ δὲ τοῦ γενναίου καὶ στρατηγικοῦ ἀπολελειμμένος φρονήματος. Ὡς γοῦν εἰς λόγους ἦλθε ὁ βασιλεύων τῷ Νικηφόρῳ, ἠρώτα· 'πῶς οὕτως καταπεπτώκει Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα;' Τὸν δέ φασι μηδὲν ἀποδειλιάσαντα εἰρηκέναι, ὅτι τοι 'σὺ μὲν βασιλεύεις, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ στρατηγεῖ, σὺ μὲν τῆς βασιλείας καταμελῶν, οὗτος δὲ φιλοχρηματῶν. Ἀλλ' εἴ γε βούλοιο μεταβολὴν τοῖς πράγμασιν εὕρασθαι, μὴ αὐτίκα ἔλπιζε τὴν τῶν πεπτωκότων ἀνάστασιν. Κἀγὼ γενναίας ἀφορμὰς τῶν ὕστερον στρατηγημάτων καταβαλλόμενος εἶθ' οὕτως τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πολέμοις ἐπιχειρήσω'. Ἑτοίμως δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ βασιλέως παρεσχηκότος ποιεῖν, εἴ τι καὶ βούλοιτο, εὐθὺς ὁ Φωκᾶς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ καθιστᾷ τὰς πράξεις καὶ ἀνεπλήρου τὸ μέτρον, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ ξενικῆς δυνάμεως, τὰ δ' αὐτὸς καθοπλίζων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν καὶ τοὺς βωλοκόπους μαχαιροφόρους ποιούμενος, γυμνάζων τε τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἔς τε τοξείαν καὶ ἀκοντίων ἄφεσιν καὶ τὸ μακρὸν δόρυ διαγκαλίζεσθαι εὖ, ἀφ' ἵππων τε τοξεύειν καὶ φεύγοντας βάλλειν, καὶ τὰ μὲν πολεμεῖν, τὰ δὲ τειχομαχεῖν καὶ πολιορκεῖν. Ὡς δ' οὖν ἀρκούντως εἶχεν αὐτῷ ἡ παρασκευή, ἀντωπεῖ τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ τὰ θρυλούμενα παρὰ πᾶσιν ποιεῖ κατορθώματα. Τῷ μέντοιγε βασιλεῖ Ῥωμανῷ δύο τίκτονται παῖδες ἐκ Θεοφανοῦς, ὅ τε γενναῖος Βασίλειος καὶ πρὸς πάντας βασιλεῖς ἀπαράμιλλος, καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος, περὶ ὧν αὐτίκα ἐροῦμεν. Ὧν ὁ μὲν Βασίλειος τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν βραχύς, παμμεγέθης δὲ τὴν ψυχήν, ἀπολαύσεως μὲν βασιλικῆς βραχύ τι, πόνων δὲ καὶ φροντίδων πλείστων μεταλαγχάνων· ὁ δέ γε Κωνσταντῖνος ἐπιμηκέστερος μὲν τἀδελφοῦ, ἐλάττων δὲ καὶ τὴν γενναιότητα καὶ τὸ φρόνημα. Γυναῖκα δὲ γήμας τρεῖς ἐκ ταύτης θυγατέρας ποιεῖται. Αὗται δὲ παρά τινι τῶν βασιλικῶν κοιτωνίσκων ἐπαρθενεύοντο. Ὁ μέντοιγε Ῥωμανὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς δυσὶν υἱέσι καὶ βασιλεῦσι μετατίθεται τὴν ζωήν, τὴν μητέρα τούτων

22–23 κατωλιγωρήκεις οὖν **24** πανημερίοις *vide comm.* **27** Ῥωμαίους **29** Νικηφόρον λέγω τὸν Φωκᾶν supplevi. Ms. post ἐλπίδα lacunam habere clarum est. *Vide comm.* **32** πεπιστεύκει **41** παρεσχηκότως **42** καθιστᾶ ms., *vide comm.* **46** ἐφ' ἵππον *vide comm.* **56** γήμᾶ

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34 πῶς κτλ.: cf. Zon. III 493,1 ... πῶς εἰς τὸ κατόπιν Ῥωμαίοις περιηνέχθη τὰ πράγματα. τὸν δὲ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον ἐλευθέρῳ φάναι φρονήματι „διότι σὺ μὲν βασιλεύεις, ὁ δ' ἐμὸς πατὴρ στραταρχεῖ, σὺ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐχ ὡς δέον ἐπειλημμένος, ἐκεῖνος δὲ φιλοχρηματῶν.

neglected his whole task as an emperor, and in particular brought about a dissolution of the garrisons that protect the borders. His daily pursuits consisted of amusement with comic mimes and theatre games, he was mad on sexual pleasures, infatuated with horse-racing, born for hunting-parties. When the barbarians, however, overrunning all of Roman territory freely destroyed everything and especially, when the Cretan commander had bungled the works, he did not know what to do further and resorted to his only and final hope, ⟨I mean Nikephoros Phokas⟩, a man such as nature had never before created, brave of hand, extremely clever of mind. His father Bardas had already been in charge of the eastern part, second, it is true, to his son, but not much inferior to him in bravery and strategical insight. Now, when the emperor had started his conference with Nikephoros, he asked: "how can Roman power be ruined like this?" and Nikephoros is said to have answered without any diffidence: "You are the emperor, my father is a commander and you neglect the empire, while he loves only money. But if you wish to achieve a change of affairs, do not expect an immediate improvement of the collapsed power. I am ready to create the necessary resources of virtue for later military actions and under these conditions to resume warfare against the barbarians". The emperor was only too glad to offer him the opportunity to do as he proposed, and Phokas immediately took care of the affairs, analysed the situation and restored the quota, partly from foreign forces and partly by his own activity to arm the agrarians and to transform the clodcutters into swordsmen. He trained their arms for shooting the bow, for throwing the spear and for holding the lance in tight grip, and taught them to shoot on horse-back and to hit the mark even when fleeing, and further to fight on the battle-field, to attack and defend walls, to lay siege to a city. Then, after he had sufficiently finished his preparations, he confronted the barbarians and achieved the results spoken of by everyone.

To the emperor Romanos two children were born of Theophano, the brave and, in comparison with all the emperors, unrivalled Basilius, and Constantine, about both of whom we will presently speak. Of these two Basilius was short of stature, but very great of soul. His share of the pleasures of rulership was scanty, tremendous his share of sorrows and troubles. Constantine was taller than his brother, but was his inferior in bravery and spirit. He married a woman who presented him with three daughters. These girls lived as virgins in one of the imperial apartments. As to Romanos, having his two sons as co-emperors he ended his life after he had charged their mother Theophano to

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εἰ βούλοιο δέ, μεταβληθήσονται τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τὰ πράγματα, πλὴν μὴ ἀθρόαν οἴου ἔσεσθαι τὴν μεταβολήν". **41–42** εὐθὺς ... ἐπεμελεῖτο: cf. Zon. III 493,8 καὶ ὃς αὐτίκα ἐπεμελεῖτο τοῦ ὁπλιτικοῦ, ... **43–44** καθοπλίζων ... τοὺς βωλοκόπους ...: cf. Zon. III 493,11 ... καὶ καθοπλίσας τοὺς βωλοκόπους ... **48–49** τὰ θρυλούμενα ... κατορθώματα: cf. Zon. III 493,13–14 ... σὺν ἀστοῖς τὰ θρυλλούμενα ῥᾳδίως ἔστησε τρόπαια.

Θεοφανὼ ἐπιτάξας τὴν ζωὴν αὐτοῖς διακυβερνᾶν.

104 Θεοφανὼ σὺν τοῖς παισὶ Βασιλείῳ καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ. Οὐκ οἶδα, εἴτε ἀνδρὸς ἔρωτι καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ σαρκὸς πρὸς δευτέραν εὐνὴν ἡ βασιλὶς κατεληλύθει Θεοφανώ, εἴτε συνηναγκάσθη πρὸς τοῦτο, τῶν πραγμάτων συνταραχθέντων αὐτῇ. Καίτοι καὶ αὕτη δραστήριος περὶ τὰ πράγματα ἦν καὶ ὁ παῖς Βασίλειος εἰκοστοετὴς ἐγεγόνει καὶ πολλῶν ὀξύτητι διήνεγκε λογισμοῦ καὶ δεξιότητι φύσεως, ἀλλὰ δεδόσθω μὴ ἐποφθαλμίσαι ταύτην ἀνδρί, μηδὲ ἐρωτόληπτον γεγονέναι. Ἀλλ' οἱ τηνικαῦτα τὰς στρατιωτικὰς διειληφότες ἀρχάς, ὧν τὰ πρῶτα ὁ Φωκᾶς Νικηφόρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Τζιμισχής, βασιλέα γενναῖον ἐπιστῆναι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐβου-
275v λεύοντο. Ἀκούω δέ τινος τῶν συγγραφέων | ὅτι τῷ Τζιμισχῇ παρὰ τῆς Θεοφανοῦς ἡ βασιλεία ἐπετέτραπτο. Ὁ δὲ τὸν Νικηφόρον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δεῖν ἄρχειν παρεβιάζετο, συγγενῆ τε ὄντα καὶ διὰ πλῆθος κατορθωμάτων ἄξιον τοῦ ὀνόματος. Φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀποκνοῦντα τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν παραβιάζεσθαι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπ' αὐτὸν ξιφήρη ἐπανατεῖναι. Ὡς δὲ ⟨οὐ⟩ κατὰ νοῦν ταῦτα ἐγεγόνει τῇ βασιλίδι, οὐκ ἦν δὲ τὴν βίαν ὑπενεγκεῖν ἢ ἀπώσασθαι, γίνεται καὶ αὐτὴ τοῦ βουλεύματος καὶ τὸν Νικηφόρον τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν προκρίνει. Καὶ ὃς ἄνεισι λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐπὶ λαμπραῖς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὄψις ἀξιοθεατότατος, ψυχὴ γενναία, χρῆμα παντοδαπόν, πρός τε πολέμους καὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην. Οὕτως ἡ μὲν βασιλὶς τοῦ αὐταρχεῖν ἐπέπαυτο, ὁ δὲ Νικηφόρος τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων ἀναλαμβάνεται συμβασιλευόντων αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ παίδων Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου.

105 Νικηφόρος Φωκᾶς ὁ νικητής. Ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως Νικηφόρου τοῦ Φωκᾶ πολλοὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνον καὶ τῶν [οὐ] μετ' οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον διεξοδικὰ συγγράμματα ἐκδεδώκασι καὶ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ἐκεῖνα εἴσεται, ὁπόσα ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἔν τε ἰδιώτου σχήματι ἔν τε βασιλείᾳ κατώρθωκεν. Ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος λόγος βραχέα τὰ περὶ τούτου ἐρεῖ, τὸ σύνηθες μέτρον ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις κἀν τούτῳ ποιούμενος. Οὗτος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἆθλον στρατηγημάτων καὶ ἀνδραγαθημάτων πολλῶν λαμβάνει τὴν βασιλείαν. Ἤνεγκε γὰρ ὁ τότε καιρὸς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Νικηφόρον καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Τζιμισχὴν εὐτυχήματα Ῥωμαίων περιφανῆ· ἀλλήλοις γὰρ ἁμιλλώμενοι καὶ παραβαλλόμενοι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ηὐξήκασι πράγματα καὶ προσέθεσαν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας πόλεις πολλὰς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἕω. Αἵ τε γὰρ Ταρσός, πόλις ἐν Κιλικίᾳ μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, Ἄδανά τε καὶ Λαοδίκεια καὶ ἡ οὐρανόπολις Ἀντιόχεια τῆς τε Φοινίκης τὰ πλείω, καὶ ἡ πολυθρύλητος Δαμασκὸς τό τε Ῥάμηλε καὶ ἡ περιβόητος Τρίπολις, καὶ

62 συναναγκάσθη *vide comm.* **64** εἰκοστοετὴς ms., sed forsitan scribendum sit εἰκοσιετής/εἰκοσαετής **73** οὐ supplevi **83** οὐ[1] delevi **84** οἴσεται **86** βραχεῖα **87** ἄθλων **95** τό τε : τότε

continue piloting theirs.

104 Theophano with her sons Basilius and Constantine.
I do not know, whether the empress Theophano proceeded to a second marriage driven by love for a man and carnal desire, or forced into it as a consequence of her being confronted with a confused state of affairs. She was certainly energetic enough to handle things by herself and her son Basilius was already twenty years old and he surpassed many people by his acute intelligence and his natural manner. It should, nevertheless, be accepted that she did not have her eye on a man, nor was she possessed by love. But those who then bore military responsibility, among whom in the first place Nikephoros Phokas and Johannes Tsimiskes, were of the opinion that a strong emperor should be in charge of affairs.
I learn from one of the historians that Theophano wished to trust Tsimiskes with the empire. But he urged that Nikephoros in his place ought to be the ruler, as being a relative and for his many achievements worthy of bearing the imperial title. It is also said, however, that Nikephoros hesitated so much that he had to be forced to accept the throne by Tsimiskes, who even threatened him with his sword in his hand. True, it did not come up to the feelings of the empress, but unable as she was either to endure or to defend herself against the pressure, she too agreed to the consideration and preferred Nikephoros to the others for the emperorship.
Thus he ascended the throne with pomp and circumstance and under splendid expectations, a man very well worth seeing, a brave soul, a person of manifold competence both in wars and in peace. In this way the empress' autarchy was put to an end, and Nikephoros took over all the tasks with both children of Romanos, Basilius and Constantine, as his co-emperors.

105 Nikephoros Phokas the victorious. About the emperor Nikephoros Phokas many detailed writings have been published both by contemporaries and by authors shortly after, and whoever read them will know how many things were achieved by this man as an individual and as emperor. Our story will include only a few short remarks about him, being limited also in his case to the extent observed for the others. This emperor obtained the empire as the prize of his intelligent operations and brave deeds as a general. That epoch brought forth both this Nikephoros and Johannes Tsimiskes as fortunate and famous products of the Byzantine world. Being each other's rivals and equals they increased the Roman empire, conquering and adding many towns both in West and East to its territory. These were Tarsos, a great and crowded town in Cilicia, Adana as well as Laodicea, the celestial city Antioch and the greater part of Phoenicia, the famous Damascus, Ramle, the well-known

ὅσα τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν παράλιον ταύτην νέμεται οἴκησιν καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε πίνει πηγῶν προσθήκη τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων γεγόνασιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων, τῆς μὲν Σαρακηνικῆς δυναστείας ἀφαιρεθέντα, πρὸς δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν μετενεχθέντα ἀρχήν τε καὶ ἐπικράτειαν. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Τζιμισχὴς ἀναμεινάτω τὸν λόγον. Ὁ δὲ Νικηφόρος οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἀριστευμάτων τὸ ἆθλον εἰλήφει καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἀριστείοις στεφάνοις καὶ τῷ βασιλείῳ κατεκοσμήθη, δεῖν ἔγνω τυχεῖν ἀναπαύλης καὶ βραχύ τι διαναπαύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὖθις τοῖς πολεμικοῖς πόνοις ἐνεκαρτέρει, τὰ μὲν διατατιόμενος, τὰ δὲ αὐτὸς τὰ ὅπλα ἐνδὺς καὶ μαχόμενος. Ἀθώπευτος βασιλεὺς καὶ μόνῃ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ θηρώμενος οὐκ εἰς τρυφὴν ἀπειρόκαλον ⟨ἦν⟩ ἐξογκῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ τῶν βασιλείων θησαυρῶν κατορχούμενος, ἀλλὰ τὴν μέσην ὁδὸν βαδίζων καὶ ὄντως βασιλικήν. Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶδος αὐτῷ χάριτος μεστὸν καὶ σεμνότητος, ἱλαρὸς μὲν τὸ ἦθος, οὗ δὲ δεῖ βασιλικὴν πρᾶξιν ἁρμόσασθαι, εἴσω συννενευκώς, νενηφὼς ἀεὶ καὶ τῇ ὀφρύι διδοὺς ἦθος ὑπόσεμνον, ἐμβριθεῖσθαι σφοδρὸς καὶ χαριεντίσασθαι γλαφυρός, συστεῖλαι δυσμενῆ φοβερός.

Ἀλλ' ἔδει καὶ τοῦτον τύχης ποτὲ πάρεργον γενέσθαι καὶ τῆς ἀλογίστου φορᾶς. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ γέγονε, καὶ ὁ λόγος τὴν αἰτίαν διηγείσθω τοῦ ἀτυχήματος. Ἀδελφὸς ἦν τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ Λέων τὸ ὄνομα, ὃν δὴ καὶ κουροπαλάτην ὁ βασιλεὺς ὀνομάσας (τὸ δ' ἀξίωμα τοῦτο ἡρωϊκόν τε καὶ εὔδαιμον, εἰ καὶ νῦν κοινόν τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπον γέγονεν), οὗτος ὁ Λέων ὑπεκάθητο τῷ θαυμαστῷ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Τζιμισχῇ καὶ φθόνου μεστὸς ὑπεβλέπετο καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔπειθε μὴ πάντα πιστεύειν ἐκείνῳ, ἀλλ' ὑφορᾶν τε καὶ ὑποπτεύειν, χαλιναγωγεῖν τε καὶ καταστέλλειν, μήπου τι καὶ θράσος ἀλόγιστον ἐνδείξηται κατ' αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὑφεωρᾶτο καί πού τι καὶ κακῶσαι τοῦτον προείλετο, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ φιλίᾳ διδοὺς εἰς πραότητα μετερρύθμιζε τὸν θυμόν.

Συνηνέχθη δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον τῷ βασιλεῖ Νικηφόρῳ. Σεμνὸς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ὁ βίος καὶ οὐ πάνυ τι ἐπλησίαζεν γυναιξίν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας φροντίδων ἐγένετο, τῆς πρὸς τὴν βασίλειαν ὁμιλίας ἀπείχετο. Τῇ δὲ μίσους τοῦτο ὑπέκκαυμα γίνεται. Διετάραξε δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ λόγος ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν βοώμενος, ὡς βούλοιτο ὁ βασιλεὺς Νικηφόρος Βασίλειον καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον τοὺς Ῥωμανοῦ παῖδας τῶν παιδογόνων μορίων ἀποτεμεῖν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν βασιλέα ποιήσασθαι. Ἡ δὲ Θεοφανὼ καὶ τὸ ἀνομίλητον μισήσασα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὸ ᾀδόμενον ὑποπτεύσασα ἐζήτει καθ' ἑαυτήν, πῶς ἂν τὸν Νικηφόρον ἀποφορτίσαιτο. Αὕτη πολλάκις τὸν

3 ἐκείνην **9** αὐτὰ **10** μόνῃ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ms. : servavi, veritatem ut utensile venationis interpretans. Fortasse autem legendum μόνην τὴν ἀλήθειαν **11** ἦν : supplevi quia sententia verbo principali caret **15** ἐμβριθεῖσθαι : ἐμβοηθῆσθαι *vide comm.* **19—20** anacoluthon, quod solvere potes addendo ἦν post κουροπαλάτην **22** μεστὸν *vide comm.* **26** κακῶσθαι *vide comm.* **30** βασίλειαν: βασιλείαν **33** Ῥωμανοῦς **36** ἀποφροντίσαιτο

Tripolis. And the whole coastal region, occupied by the enemies who profited from its natural resources, became an appendage to the territory of the Romans through these men, who took it away from the Saracen sphere of influence and transposed it to Roman rule and authority. As to Tsimiskes, he will have his story later.

As to Nikephoros, he realised very well that, having won the prize for his excellent achievements and having received, besides the graceful crown for his prowess, also the imperial crown, he should not seek to find rest nor even take a short pause; no, he continued his war efforts without delay, partly organising, partly putting on his arms and fighting himself. He was neither accessible to flattery, nor inclined to anything but the truth, nor did he admit expansion of his administration towards vulgar luxury nor dissipate the imperial treasures, but he always took the middle and truly imperial course. His appearance was also full of grace and seriousness, he was cheerful of character, but introvert where reflexion on his imperial task was concerned, always sober, showing a grave aspect on his brow, capable of both absolute earnest and subtle joking, formidable to check an enemy. It was fated, however, that even he would once become a plaything of fortune and of the sway of the irrational.

And indeed, it happened, and my story has to tell the cause of the accident. The emperor had a brother named Leo, whom he had honoured with the title of curopalates — a dignity conferred on heroic and fortunate men, albeit common now and borne by many people —; this Leo waylaid the admirable Johannes Tsimiskes whom he, being full of jealousy, regarded with suspicion and he persuaded his brother not to trust him in everything, but to harbour suspicion and distrust and to bridle him and diminish his influence, lest he perpetrate some unforeseen outrage against him. At first, indeed, he looked at him with suspicion and he felt some inclination to harm him, but giving in to their old friendship he dropped his wrath and proceeded to kindness.

But yet another thing happened to the emperor Nikephoros. From his early youth he had a serious way of life and he had no sexual intercourse whatever with women. And when he had taken on the burdens of the empire, he abstained from communicating with the empress. But this provided her with fuel for hatred. She was also panic-stricken by a rumour spread in the city that the emperor Nikephoros was going to have Romanos' sons Basilius and Constantine robbed of their procreative parts and to make his brother emperor. Theophano, being fed up with the reticence of the man and suspicious about the report, pondered how she might get rid of Nikephoros. She had

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28—29 ≈ Zon. III 516,4—5 οὐδὲ γὰρ πάνυ τι καὶ νέος ὢν πρὸς ἔρωτας ἐτύγχανεν εὐκατάφορος. **30** ≈ Zon. III 516,1—2 … μετέπειτα τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν συνουσίας ἀπείχετο, … **31—34** ≈ Zon. III 516,6—8 **34—39** ≈ Zon. III 516,5—6, 8—14

Τζιμισχὴν ἰδοῦσα κάλλει ὄντα διαπρεπῆ (ἦν γὰρ οἷον ἀγαλματίας τὸ εἶδος καὶ χαριέστατος) ἐγκυμονεῖ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἔρωτα καὶ ἀξιόχρεον τοῦτον ἀντίθετον τοῦ Νικηφόρου λογίζεται. Ἐξαγγέλλει γοῦν [ἐν] αὐτῷ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σκέμμα γνώριμον καθιστᾷ καὶ ἄνδρα ἐν καιρῷ γενέσθαι παρακελεύεται. Ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο εὐφυῶς ἑτοιμάζεται, ἠρέθισε δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν καί τι ἄλλο ἐπενηνεγμένον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῷ. Ὁ γὰρ Νικηφόρος οἷον ἀποσβεννὺς αὐτῷ τὰς πρὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν ὁρμὰς μεταλλάττει τὸ σχῆμα καὶ μεταμφιέννυσι καὶ πολιτικὴν αὐτῷ δυναστείαν ἀντὶ τῆς στρατιωτικῆς ἐγχειρίζει λογοθέτην τῶν τοῦ δρόμου προχειρισάμενος. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀντὶ βαρείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς τιμωρίας ἐλογίσθη τῷ Τζιμισχῇ καὶ αὐτίκα τῆς τυραννικῆς ὁρμῆς ἄρχεται καὶ αὐθημερὸν τό τε βούλευμα ποιεῖται, οἷς δὴ καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀνακαλύψαι δεῖν ἐδοκίμασε, καὶ κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίαν τῶν βασιλείων θάλασσαν ⟨ἀφικνεῖται⟩, οὗ ὁ θαυμάσιος καὶ περιβόητος λιμὴν κατεσκεύασται, ἔνθα ἄλλα τε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων καὶ βοῦς ⟨ᾧ⟩ ἐπιβὰς λέων τις τῷ λαιῷ ποδὶ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ κέρως ἀντιλαμ-
276r βάνεται | καὶ τὸν αὐχένα περιτρέπει αὐτοῦ. Πρὸς τούτοις οὖν ἐν τῷ λιμένι γενόμενος γύργαθόν τε καλῳδίῳ τεθέαται καθειμένον (ἦν δὲ νυκτὸς τὸ μεσαίτατον) καί τινας τῶν θεραπαινῶν τῆς βασιλίδος ἄνωθεν ἐφεστηκυίας καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνιμᾶσθαι τὸν γύργαθον, ὅτε καὶ βούλοιντο, γυμνοὺς καὶ προχείρους τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιδεικνυμένας. Ἐνταῦθα, ἀμφιβόλων τῶν συνωμοτῶν γενομένων (τίς ἆρα θαρσήσει τὴν φοβερὰν ταύτην ἀνάβασιν;) πρῶτος ὁ μελάγχρους τὴν ὄψιν Θεόδωρος ἀνά τε ἐπήδησε τῆς νεὼς καὶ ἑαυτὸν παραδοὺς τῇ τύχῃ πρῶτος τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ ἀνειλκύσθη. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἀσφαλείαις ἐγεγόνει καὶ διεγνώκει, ὅτι οὐ ψεύδεται τούτους ἡ βασιλὶς οὐδὲ ἀπάτη ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον, ἔσεισέ τε τὴν χεῖρα ἄνωθεν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Τζιμισχὴν οἷον σύμβολον τοῦτο θράσους διδοὺς καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ πάντας εὐθὺς ἀνιέναι ἐπέρρωσε καὶ ἀνίεσαν ξύμπαντες. Τοῦτο δὲ ἦν δεδογμένον τῇ Θεοφανοῖ καὶ καθωμολογημένον τῷ Τζιμισχῇ, μὴ χεῖρα τῷ Νικηφόρῳ ἐπενεγκεῖν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον τῆς βασιλείας κατενεγκεῖν τοῦτον. Ἔκειτο δὲ οὗτος χαμεύνης (τοῦτο εἰθισμένον τῷ βασιλεῖ), ὑπό τι σχέδιον ἱερὸν καὶ ξίφος αὐτῷ που τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀπῃώρητο. Ὡς δ' οὖν ἐντὸς τοῦ κοιτῶνος οὗ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπεκάθευδεν οἱ συνωμόται γεγόνασιν, ἀποτολμᾷ τις αὐτῶν τῷ ποδὶ λακτίσαι καὶ διασεῖσαι, ὑβρίσαι τε αὐτὸν καὶ τῷ ῥήματι. Ὁ δὲ διάρας τὴν κεφαλὴν πληγὴν εὐθὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ θυμοῦ γέμουσαν δέχεται, ἥτις αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ὀφρύας κατὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐχάλασε

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39 ἐν[1] delevi **43** παρὰ : περὶ **48** τό τε : τότε **50** ἀφικνεῖται supplevi, *vide comm.* **52** βοῦς ἐπιβὰς λέοντι *vide comm.* κέρως : καίρως **53** αὐτοῦ : αὐτῷ (?) **55** τινας : τινες θεραπόντων *vide comm.* **56** ἀνιμῆσθαι *vide comm.* **57** ἐπιδεικνυμένους **58** ἄρα

already often seen that Tsimiskes was a very handsome man (and, indeed, he was like a statue in appearance, and a man of taste) and she conceived love for him and considered that he would be a worthwhile substitute for Nikephoros. Thus she avows in secret her love for him, reveals to him the reflexions of her soul and incites him to be a man at the right moment. As to him, he showed himself not only ready, as could be expected, but another action against him on the part of the emperor urged him to take up the affair. For Nikephoros, who seemed to want to extinguish his eager interest in military matters, had changed his role by giving him another position: he invested him with civil instead of military power by appointing him minister of communication. Tsimiskes understood this as a heavy, Laconian punishment, and immediately started his usurpatory action and prepared his plan on the very day. He calculated to whom he ought to reveal the matter, and came according to the arrangements to the sea south of the palace, where that admirable and famous harbour has been built, where besides other statues there is the sculpture of a bull assaulted by a lion who has seized with his left paw the left horn and turns the bull's head; having joined them at the harbour he saw that a basket was let down by a rope (it was at the very middle of the night) and that a number of maidens of the empress stood above showing their naked arms ready to hoist up the basket whenever they wanted. But the conspirators were very uncertain: who would dare that dangerous way up? At that moment, however, the dark-skinned Theodoros was the first to jump up from the ship and to commit himself to fortune, and he was the first of the company who was hoisted up. After he had reached safety and had ascertained that the empress had not lied to them and that it was no hoax, he waved his arm from above to Tsimiskes and his followers, giving as it were a token both of confidence and joy. Thus he encouraged them all to ascend immediately, and they all came. Now, Theophano had resolved and Tsimiskes had agreed that no violent hand should be laid upon Nikephoros, but that he should only be forced to abdicate. He lay on the floor (that was the way this emperor used to sleep) under some holy scene and his sword hung somewhere in the imperial apartments. When the conspirators had come into the room where the emperor slept, one of them boldly gave him a kick and jolted him and besides insulted him with words. The emperor raised his head but immediately received a blow wherein the full wrath against him was implied. It tore loose his brows and dimmed his eyes and filled his soul with terrible fear. When

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41–43 cf. Zon. III 516,14–15 **43–46** ≈ Zon. III 516,16–18 **46–47** ≈ Zon. III 516,18–517,1 ... ἀλλ' εἰς τιμωρίαν καὶ ταύτην βαρεῖαν ἐκείνῳ λελόγιστο. **49–53** cf. Zon. III 517,7–11 ... καὶ προσλαβόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίαν θάλασσαν τῶν βασιλείων ἀφίκετο· Βουκολέων ὁ τόπος ὠνόμασται, ὅτι λίθινος λέων ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ βοὸς ἐπιβεβηκὼς ὁμοίου καὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ ποδὶ κατέχοντι τὸ κέρας αὐτοῦ περιστρέφων τὸν αὐχένα τὸν τοῦ βοός. *Vide* et *comm.* **69–73** κατεπτόησεν: ~ Zon. III 518,5–8.

καὶ δεινῶς τὴν ψυχὴν κατεπτόησεν. Ὡς δ' οὖν ἤδη τεθηραμένον τὸν λέοντα ἑωράκεισαν, ὁ Τζιμισχὴς ἐπὶ κλίνης καθίσας αὐτοῦ που κειμένης βασιλικῆς καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν παρακελευσάμενος πλησίον αὐτοῦ τὸν Νικηφόρον μετενεγκεῖν, ἐπειδὴ εἶδε μηκέτι ἐπὶ πόδας διαστῆναι δυνάμενον, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρωθεν διερειδόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ γόνυ καθήμενον, πρῶτον μὲν ἀνηρώτα τὰς αἰτίας, ὧν παρ' αὐτῶν κακῶς τε ἤκουσε καὶ ἐπεπόνθει ὅσα οὐκ ἔδει. Ὡς δὲ εἶδε πρὸς οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν τοῦτον ἀποκρινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον τὸ 'κύριε, βοήθησον' πολλάκις ἀποκρινόμενον, θυμοῦ πλήρης γενόμενος πληγὴν καταφέρει τούτου δευτέραν. Εἶτα δὴ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐγκελεύεται ταῖς λαβαῖς τῶν ξιφῶν πλῆξαί τε ἀπηνῶς καὶ διασεῖσαι αὐτῷ τοὺς ὀδόντας ξύμπαντας. Ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ δόρατι ἀπὸ τῶν νώτων ἐς τὰ στέρνα διαπερονᾶται. Καὶ ὁ μέγας Ῥωμαίων πύργος καὶ ἄσειστος εἰς γῆν αὐθωρὸν καταπίπτει. Οὐκ οἶδα ἀνθ' ὅτου καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνεται. Ὡς δὲ τοῦτο εἶδεν ἡ τὸ δρᾶμα ποιησαμένη βασίλισσα, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀνωλόλυζε καὶ τῶν ἀνακτόρων γοερῶς κατεστέναζεν. Ἀλλ' ὁ Τζιμισχὴς περιεῖπε ταύτην καὶ ὑπεθώπευε καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἄλλως ἦν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι ἐδίδασκεν. Οἱ δὲ τῷ δράματι δρᾶμα προσέθεσαν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Λέοντα ἐκεῖσε μεταπεμψάμενοι ἀφαιροῦνται τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ περίορθρον τοὺς ἐκεῖσε καθεύδοντας φύλακας ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦνται καὶ διστάζουσι τὴν τοῦ Νικηφόρου δεικνύουσι κεφαλήν. Εἶτα δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα εὐτελῶς τε καὶ δυστυχῶς τῶν βασιλείων ἐκφέρουσι καὶ εἰς προῦπτον πᾶσιν ἐπὶ πάσης δημοσιεύουσιν ἀγορᾶς καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἀποστόλων νεῷ, αὐτὸς ἂν εἴποιμι, θησαυρίζουσι. Καὶ γίνεται οἷον δῶρον θεῷ καὶ ἀνάθημα ἄσυλον. Καὶ ὁ Τζιμισχὴς Ἰωάννης τῆς βασιλείας ἐγκρατὴς γίνεται, ὁ μέντοιγε Φωκᾶς πέντε μῆνας ἀμφὶ πέντε ἐνιαυτοὺς ἰθύνει τὴν βασίλειον ἀρχήν.

106 Βασίλειος ὁ τοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ παῖς καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ. Βασιλεὺς Βασίλειος ὁ τοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ παῖς μακροημερώτατος καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ζωὴν γεγονώς (δύο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς πεντήκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐμονάρχησεν, δύο δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα παρέτεινε τὴν ζωήν), σπουδαιότατός τε ἁπάντων βασιλέων γενόμενος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγὺς αὐτοκράτορας διαμιλλησάμενος, τόν τε Ἰωάννην καὶ τὸν Νικηφόρον, οὐδὲν ὅτι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἡττήθη τῷ μεγέθει τῶν κατορθώσεων, τῷ δὲ πλήθει διὰ τῶν μακρῶν χρόνων καὶ ὑπερεβάλετο. Οὐκ ἐν ἀκμῇ δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ μειράκιον ἔτι ὢν πράγμασι χαλεποῖς συνεσχέθη. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρῶτα

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76 εἶδε : οἶδε **78** ὧν suspectum; possis ⟨δι'⟩ᾶς compar. Zon. III 518,10 ἐπεπόνθει conieci : ἐπειπόντως, *vide comm.* παρ' αὐτῶν : malim παρ' αὐτοῦ (cf. Zon. III 518,11) **79** εἶδε : οἶδε **83** ἐπὶ τούτους **95** νεῷ **11** ὑπερεβάλλετο

they saw the lion already trapped, Tsimiskes sat down on the imperial bed somewhere in the room, ordered his followers to bring Nikephoros before him, but seeing that he was no longer able to stand on his feet, but needed support from both sides even sitting on his knees, he asked him first why he had received from his side a bad reputation and ill treatment that he had not deserved. Noticing, however, that he gave no other answer than only a frequent "O Lord, help me", he grew so angry that he dealt him a second blow.

Next he ordered his subordinates to beat him mercilessly with the hilts of their swords and to knock out all his teeth. Then he pierced him with his lance from back to breast. Thus the great and unshakable tower of the Romans fell down on the spot. It is beyond my knowledge why also his head was knocked off. When, however, the empress, who had composed the plot, saw this result, she started wailing as on the stage and mournfully wept for the palace's misfortune. But Tsimiskes took care of her, cheered her up and informed her that there was no other way to be safe. In addition to this drama they created another by summoning the emperor's brother Leo and blinding him. And just at daybreak they won the loyalty of the guardsmen who slept there by showing Nikephoros' head to those who hesitated.

Next they cheaply and sadly carried his body out from the palace, exposed it before the eyes of everybody in every square and treasured him up, as I should like to say, in the Church of the Apostles. There he was as it were a gift to God and an inviolate votive offering. Thus became Tsimiskes Johannes master of the empire; Phokas controlled the imperial power during about five years and five months.

106 Basilius, the son of Romanos, and Constantine, his brother. No other emperor was more longeval both in rule and in life than the emperor Basilius, the son of Romanos. For his emperorship lasted fifty-two years, his life endured seventy-two years.

He turned out to be the most excellent of all emperors and he contended with his immediate predecessors, Johannes and Nikephoros, being in no way their inferior as to the importance of his achievements, but certainly surpassing them in the quantity of his successes during the long series of years. He had to occupy himself with difficult problems, not at a ripe age, but even when still a boy. The first to desert and to undertake a revolt against him was the

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74 ὁ Τζιμισχὴς —**84** διαπερονᾶται: ~ Zon. III 518,8–16. **1–2** cf. Zon. III 519,11–12 ... ὁ δὲ Τζιμισκὴς τῆς βασιλείας γενόμενος ἐγκρατής, ... **5–11** cf. Psellum *Bas. II*, XXXVII, 1 sqq. Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς μακροβιώτατος δοκεῖ ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτοκράτορας γεγενῆσθαι· ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ γεννήσεως ἄχρις εἰκοστοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Φωκᾷ Νικηφόρῳ καὶ τῷ μετ' ἐκεῖνον Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Τζιμισκῇ συνεβασίλευσεν ὑποκείμενος, εἶτα δὴ δύο πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα ἔτεσι τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἔσχεν ἀρχήν. Ἑβδομηκοστὸν οὖν καὶ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας ἄγων μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον. *Vide* et *comm.*

ὁ Σκληρὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ Βάρδας ἀπόστασιν κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπανάστασιν ἐμελέτησεν. Εἶθ' ὁ τούτου ὁμώνυμος, ἀδελφιδοῦς δὲ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Νικηφόρου τοῦ Φωκᾶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀποστάτην Σκληρὸν παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐκπεμφθεὶς καὶ τοῦτον καταγωνισάμενος βαρυτέραν κατ' αὐτοῦ χεῖρα ἐπῆρε καὶ μυρίοις ὅσοις κακοῖς περιέβαλε. Καὶ τούτου δὲ πεσόντος ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὁ Σκληρὸς αὖθις τυραννικώτερον ἢ τὸ πρότερον ἐγεγόνει τῷ βασιλεῖ. Τὼ δὲ ἄνδρε τούτω καὶ γενναίω ἤστην καὶ συνετὼ τὰ πολέμια. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Φωκᾶς τὴν ἰσχὺν κραταιότερος, ὁ δέ γε Σκληρὸς τὸ φρόνημα σταθηρότερος. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπώσασθαι φάλαγγα ἱκανώτατος καὶ στρατηγικῷ ἐμβοήματι διαρρῆξαι συνασπισμὸν φοβερώτατος, ὁ δὲ συναγαγεῖν στράτευμα καὶ τὰ μὲν οἰκονομῆσαι, τὰ δὲ κατὰ φάλαγγα στῆναι καὶ πράγματα διαμηχανήσασθαι ἀκριβέστατός τε καὶ ποικιλώτατος. Ἐμαχέσαντο δέ ποτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπειλημμένοι εἰς τὸ μεσαίχμιον καὶ πληγὰς κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐξήνεγκαν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Φωκᾶς παρὰ τοῦ Σκληροῦ πρῶτον πληγεὶς μεθῆκε τὸν χαλινόν. Εἶθ' αὖθις ἀναλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ἔπαισε κατὰ κεφαλῆς τὸν πολέμιον καὶ συνέχεε τούτῳ τὸν νοῦν. Ἦσαν δὲ ἄμφω καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἀξιοθέατοι καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἐκπληκτικώτατοι. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φωκᾶς ὁρμήσας ἐν πολέμῳ κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ξιφήρη τὴν χεῖρα πόρρωθεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀνατείνας, πρὶν ἢ συμβαλεῖν
276v | διολισθαίνει τοῦ ἵππου τὸν νοῦν συγχυθείς, μὴ παρὰ τούτου τρωθείς, ἀλλ' ἐπιβουλευθείς, ὥς φησιν, ἀφανῶς καὶ προπεπωκὼς δηλητήριον φάρμακον. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Σκληρὸν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον ἀνταίρων σπονδὰς ἐποιήσατο. Ἤσκησε μὲν γὰρ ἐκ μειρακίου τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον, ὥσπερ δὲ προγυμνασάμενος πρὸς ἑτέρους ἀγῶνας ἐχώρησε. Βασίλειον δὲ τὸν ἐκ νοθείας θεῖον αὐτῷ, ὃν δὴ καὶ παρακοιμώμενον ἐποιήσατο, (τὸ δ' ἀξίωμα τοῦτο σύμβολον τῆς ἄνωθεν ἐς βασιλέας φυλακῆς, καὶ τοῦ περιέπειν τοῦτον νυκτὸς μάλιστα καὶ ἀγχοῦ τῆς κλίνης καταδαρθάνειν), τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Βασίλειον τὰ μὲν πρῶτα προσίετο, ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν οἷον θαυμάσιον καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν ἐν πολλοῖς ἐπιδεικνύμενον πράγμασιν, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπεώσατο ἀρκεῖν ἑαυτῷ φήσας πρὸς τὴν ἀρχήν. Τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν Κωνσταντῖνον ὁρῶν ἐς τρυφὰς ἀπονεύοντα καὶ βίον ἕτερον ᾑρημένον ἢ ὃν οὗτος προείλετο, δίαιταν αὐτῷ ἑτοιμάσας ἀγχοῦ που τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ δορυφορίαν παρασκευασάμενος ἀποχρῶσαν, οἶκον ἑαυτῷ μόνῳ ἐποιήσατο τὰ βασίλεια. Καὶ τιμῆς μὲν ἐκείνῳ μετεδίδου

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19 τὼ : τῶ συνετῶ **27** παρὰ : περὶ **33** ὥς φησιν suspectum ; conicio ὥς φασιν cf. Psellum *Bas. II* XVI 14 οἳ δὲ . . . φασίν, necnon Zon. III 553, 11–12, 16; 554,1 **44** δίαιτα

21–22 καὶ στρατηγικῷ ἐμβοήματι διαρρῆξαι συνασπισμὸν φοβερώτατος: cf. Psellum *Bas. II*, VII 8–9 κἂν πόρρωθεν ἐπεβόησεν, ὅλην συνετάραττε φάλαγγα. **26–29** cf. Psellum *Bas. II*, VIII 9–13 καὶ ὁ πεπληγὼς πρὸς τὸ ἀδόκητον τῆς πληγῆς βραχύ τι τοῦ χαλινοῦ γεγονὼς ἀκρατής, αὖθις συνηθροίκει τοὺς λογισμούς, καὶ κατὰ ταὐτοῦ μέλους τὸν πλήξαντα παίσας, τῆς πολεμικῆς ὁρμῆς ἔπαυσε καὶ φυγεῖν παρεσκεύασεν. **31** πόρρωθεν: cf. Scyl. 337,12 ... τὸν βασιλέα θεασάμενος πόρρωθεν τῇδε κἀκεῖσε καθιππαζόμενον ...

well-known Skleros Bardas. The second to raise his hand against him was that man's namesake — a cousin of the emperor Nikephoros Phokas, who had been sent by the emperor to fight against the apostate Skleros and had inflicted on him a very heavy defeat — and this man also caused him innumerable troubles. After the latter had been killed in the combat Skleros again took even more hostile action against the emperor than the first time.
Nonetheless these two men were brave and very intelligent warriors as well. Phokas' physical strength was greater, Skleros showed greater steadfastness of mind. The first was the most valuable for repelling a frontal attack and the most formidable in splitting a battle-line by shouting his commands, the second was very accurate and inventive at concentrating an army, distributing its forces, lining them up and thinking out manoeuvres. Once they fought in single combat apart from the others between their two armies, striking each other fiercely. Phokas took the first blow from Skleros and let slip the reins. Next, recovered, he dealt a blow at his adversary's head, that shocked his brain. And you should realise, the hugeness of both was very well worth seeing, their appearance dazzling.
As to Phokas, in his battle against the emperor he rushed upon him, his sword-armed hand already from afar raised in his direction, but before he could hit him he slipped unconscious from his horse not being wounded by him, but, as the emperor remarked, as a result of a hidden attack: he had drunk poison shortly before.
As to Skleros, he waged war against him most of the time, but at last concluded a truce. It should be known that he used this struggle against them as an exercise from his youth onwards, and after these, say, preliminary exercises he went on to other combats. His bastard uncle Basilius, whom he had even appointed parakoimomenos (= chamberlain) — this dignity is a symbol of the traditional form of protecting the emperor, both by taking care of him at night and by sleeping in the neighbourhood of his bed — this Basilius, then, was in the beginning his favourite adviser, a man really admirable because of his insight and his being well-disposed towards him, which he demonstrated on many occasions. Later, however, he dismissed him, being, as he said, man enough to reign by himself. And seeing that his brother Constantine showed an inclination towards pleasures and chose another way of life than that which he preferred for himself, he prepared a residence for him somewhere near the city and provided him with an ample bodyguard, and made the palace a stay

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45–46 δορυφορίαν παρασκευασάμενος ἀποχρῶσαν: cf. Zon. III 555,11–12 ... καί τινα δορυφορίαν ἐκείνῳ ἀπέταξε, βραχεῖαν μέντοι καὶ οὐκ ὑπέρογκον. Psellus *Bas. II*, XXII 10–12 ὑπεροπτικῶς δὲ εἶχεν ... καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ βραχεῖάν τινα δορυφορίαν περιποιησάμενος ... **46–47** καὶ ... βασιλικῆς: cf. Zon. III 555,10–11 ... τοῦ ὀνόματος μόνου τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ ἐπισήμου χρώματος μετεδίδου τῷ ἀδελφῷ ..., cf. et Psellum *Bas. II*, II 8–9, XXII 16–18.

βασιλικῆς, παρά τε ⟨ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ⟩ τὸν εὐώνυμον θρόνον καθίζων, ὁπότε βούλοιτο προσιέναι οἱ, καὶ συμπανηγυρίζων καὶ συμπομπεύων τὰς βασιλείους τιμάς, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἔλαττον αὐτῷ ἐκοινώνει τῶν πράξεων. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος αὐτῷ ὡμίλει καὶ ἀρχικώτερον διελέγετο καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, τὴν μοναρχίαν ἑαυτῷ διηκρίβου. Ὁ δὲ μέγα καὶ τὴν ὁμιλίαν ἐτίθετο καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα ἐκοινώνει τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ τὴν εὐμένειαν λαμβάνων ἀντεδίδου τὴν εὔνοιαν. Τῷ μὲν οὖν Κωνσταντίνῳ παιδικὰ καὶ συνήθη, ἱππηλάσιά τε καὶ κυνηγέσια καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἡβητήρια, τῷ δέ γε Βασιλείῳ στρατευμάτων παρασκευαὶ καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἕω δραμεῖν ὀξέως καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀναστεῖλαι τὴν ἔφοδον, φρούριά τε κατασκευάσασθαι καὶ πόλεις τειχίσαι, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων καθελεῖν, αὖθίς τε διαβῆναι πρὸς ἑσπέραν καὶ Σκύθας χειρώσασθαι καὶ τὰ μὲν μηχανήσασθαι, τὰ δ' ἐπινοῆσαι.

Cetera desunt. In Cod. Ms. pagina sesquialtera vacat; folia $277^v - 279^v$ capita ultima Pselli Chronographias exhibent inde a Romanos IV cap. 33; πρὸ (editio: μετὰ) πάντων καὶ ὁ Διογένης ἀνὰ κράτος τὸν ἵππον ἐλαύνων . . .

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47 ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ supplevi, *vide comm.*

of his own. True, he let his brother share in the imperial honour, by permitting him sit on the throne at his left side as often as he wished to come, or by making him his companion at feasts and ceremonies, but for the rest he had fewer dealings with him in state affairs.

He even behaved rather superciliously towards him and used rather authoritarian language; in short, he reserved absolute power for himself. The other highly appreciated this contact and all other communications with his brother and gave his loyalty in exchange for his brother's kindness.

Thus, Constantine had the childish, trivial role: horse-racing, hunting and the other juvenile interests, while Basilius' life comprised the equipping of armies, hurrying to the eastern frontier, unfolding his attack on the adversaries, fortifying strongholds, walling cities, destroying the enemies, then again rushing to the West, vanquishing the Scythians, arranging this, contriving that.

Here ends this 'Short History'. After one and a half blank leaves in the manuscript (276 v. and 277 r.) the same hand continues with the final passage of Psellos' Chronographia from Romanos IV, cap. 33 on: πρὸ (editio μετὰ) πάντων καὶ ὁ Διογένης ἀνὰ κράτος τὸν ἵππον ἐλαύνων ...

COMMENTARY

2.8 Ἰουλίαν. Most of the mss. of D. H. I 76,3 read Ἰλίαν, with the exception of the important ms. A (Chisianus), which has ἰουλίαν (!), and B, which has ἰλουίαν.

Νεμέτωρ. The same spelling as in D. H. I 76,1 and *alibi*. The Dio Cassius tradition (Zonaras, Tzetzes) has Νομίτωρ, resp. Νομήτωρ.

2.11 The use of περί in this context may be considered somewhat striking, but there is a *consensus* of all the mss. of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, whose text has almost literally been quoted by the author.

It should be noticed that the river Tiber has unanimously been spelled Τέβερις in the D. H. tradition.

2.28 Τύλλος Ὀστύλιος. The text of D. H. III 1,1 reads Τύλλος Ὀστίλιος (the mss. A and B have double λ: -λλ-). In D. H. III 1,2 the name Ὀστίλιος has been misspelled by ms. B as τύλλιος.

2.32 Φειδηναίων. D. H. III 1,1 spells Φιδηναῖοι, but the mss. Ba have φηδιναῖοι, Bb φειδηναῖοι.

2.33 Φουφέτιος. D. H. III 5,3 spells Φουφέττιος.

2.34 On the cruel death of Fufetius see D. H. III 30,6 and 7.

4.35 The mss. of D. H. read ἐμπρησθείσης instead of the author's καταπρησθείσης.

4.44—47 Instead of ἔτη τέτταρα of the D. H. text, the author presents ἐπὶ τέτταρα. But the reading ἔτη is based only on the B tradition, whereas the other mss. read ἐπί.

It should further be noticed that D. H. gives only the following qualification of Marcus' elder son: ἀρτίως γενειῶντα.

4.51 Κρουστουμερήνους. All mss. of D. H. spell -ο- instead of -ου- in the second syllable; the group Bb spell -η- in the fourth syllable, where the other mss. have -ι-. Steph. Byz. s. v. has κρουστουμερίνους.

The submission of Collatia is described by D. H. III 50,2—4.

4.52—53 On Tarquinius' embellishment of Rome, cf. D. H. III 67,4 ff.

4.55 υἱούς as in all the mss. of D. H. Jacoby has adopted the conjecture of Casaubon (υἱωνούς).

4.57 The (mis)spelling Στύλλιος (as in 5,14) may be generated by combining the names Σερούϊος (Σέρβιος) and Τύλλιος. The mss. of D. H. have Τύλλιος, the Dio Cassius tradition gives Τούλλιος.

4.59 ἐμμέθοδος. Cf. Psellos *Scr. Min.* II 184,27: δεινὸς ὢν καὶ ἐμμέθοδος.

4.65 τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, but in D. H. IV 28,1 τοῖς ἀδελφιδοῖς.

6.88 The formula τούτων τῶν δυεῖν ὑπάτων (or a simular formula) here and in the chapters that follow indicates that these chapters were preceded by the names of the pair of consuls. I have added these names with the help of either the text of D. H. or of Livy.

6.89 ἡγεῖσθαι as in all the mss. of D. H. Jacoby, however, adopts the proposal of Schnelle *Exerc.* p. 30: προηγεῖσθαι.

6.92 Οὐϊεντανούς: I have adopted the usual spelling as in D. H. e. g. V 14,3.

6.92—95 The story is told by D. H. V 15,1—4. Our author gives the name Ἄρρος as in ms. B of D. H. Jacoby has adopted Kiessling's correction Ἄρρους.

8.11 The first explanation of the name: δημοκηδῆ is to be found in D. H. and Plut., the second may have been invented by our author.

8.15—20 The author has slight changes in comparison with D. H. Striking is Στύλλιος against D. H. Τύλλιος. He has also written εὑρέθησαν ... Ῥωμαίων ἄνδρες περὶ τρισκαίδεκα μυριάδες, where D. H.'s text runs εὑρέθη ... Ῥωμαίων περὶ τρισκαίδεκα μυριάδας, a text suspicious in the eyes of the famous Dutch scholar Cobet, who conjectured εὑρέθησαν ... μυριάδες.

8.27 Καλουσηνῶν. The 'canonic' text of D. H. reads κλουσινῶν, whereas the ms. A has κολουσιῶν, B κολουσίνων.

8.28 I have preserved the reading of the ms. Πορσίην, though I do not doubt that the text is corrupt. The editional text of D. H. gives Πορσίνας, but the important mss. A and B have Πορσῖνος. Our text offers Πορσίνου (8.32) as a genitive of the name. In Plut. *Publ.* 16,1 we find the spelling Πορσήνας.

8.31 I have chosen the more probable future participle, as in D. H.

8.34—35 The correlation οὔτε ... καὶ is unusual and is not mentioned by Renauld, *Et.* 322 nor by Böhlig, *Unters.* 202 sqq.

8.38 Ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων. Meant are the consuls Marens Valerius and Publius Postumius Tubertus, cf. D. H. V 37,1.

10.49 Probably the consuls P. Valerius Publicola, fourth time, and Titus Lucretius, second time, cf. D. H. V 40,1.

10.51 The consuls meant here are Publius Postumius, second time, and Menenius Agrippa, third time, cf. D. H. V 44,1. The accident mentioned has been described by D. H. V 44,2 sqq.

10.56—57 The name Ποπλίκιος must be a mistake for Πόπλιος, see also Livy II 34,1 Consules deinde T. Geganius P. Minucius facti.

10.58—63 (§ 15) This chapter gives an indication of the character of the work. It should be read as a mirror for princes. It should be noticed that the author jumps from the consul government unto the period of Julius Caesar at the moment that the institution of the tribunes of the people has been mentioned. This institution is described by D. H. in book VI, ch. 89.

10.63 μιμεῖσθαι — μωμεῖσθαι: cf. Theognis *Eleg.* I 369—370 μωμεῦνται δέ με πολλοί, ὁμῶς κακοὶ ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσθλοί· / μιμεῖσθαι δ᾽ οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀσόφων δύναται. The Theognisian μωμεῦνται may explain the use of the Ionic inf. μωμεῖσθαι. Psellos *Const. X.*, VI 9,13 couples these verbs in a 'distant' way: ... οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο μόνον, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἁμιλλησάμενος μακρῷ τοὺς προγόνους ὑπερεβάλετο, ... ; ... οὕτω τὸ πρᾶγμα μετεχειρίσατο εὖ, ὡς μηδένα τῶν πάντων μωμήσασθαι. See also Varro *Sat. Men.* 187,8 (Riese) μωμήσεταί τις μᾶλλον ἢ μιμήσεται. One may perhaps also compare Pseudo-Isocrates *Ad Demonicum* 36 Μιμοῦ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἤθη κτλ.

10.66—68 Cedr. I 300,6—8 mentions Plutarch as his source. The submission of Germans, Gauls and Britons has been described by Plutarch in *Jul. Caes.* cap. 15 ff., *Pomp.* cap. 67,6.
It should be noticed that both Ecl. Hist. 275,12 and our author have Βρετανούς with one τ.
Sync. gives the same information twice (567,2—6 mentioning also Plutarch, and 570,7 ff.).

10.68—71 The 'etymology' Caesar — ἀνατομή is a widespread *topos*: see e. g. also Mal. 214,2 ff., Georg. Mon. 293 ff., Leo Gramm. 54,3 ff., Glyk. 379,3 ff., since Plin. *Nat.* 7,47. Zon. II 331,18 ff. makes the same observation but denies that Caesar's mother died.

10.70 For ἑλλὰς γλῶσσα, see Hdt. 6,98. The verb μεθαρμόζω/-ομαι seems to be a term taken from the musical art, cf. Ptolem. *Harm.* 65,31; 99,9 Düring. Psellos uses the same verb in several places in the *Chronography*, but almost always in a reflexive way "to bring himself into harmony with", "to adjust oneself to" (once *Is. Comm.* XLVI 21 = 'change'). In Proc. *Aed.* I 10,4, III 1,2 etc. (med.) the signification reflects classical usage.

10.71 μοιχιδίου. This generally rejected rumour emerges from Plut. *Brutus* 5,2. None of the other authors adds this qualification in this connection.

10.74—78 Similar comments on the change of name of August are given e. g. in Ecl. Hist. 275,23 ff. = Cedr. I 300,22 ff., Chron. Pasch. I 363,5 ff.

Dio Cassius 55,6, 6 mentions the change of the name of *the month* Sextilius into August (cf. Xiph. 99,10–16, Zon. II 420,5). At 53,16, 8 Dio Cassius gives the common explanation Latin *augustus* = Greek σεβαστός. See also Zon. II, 411,11–12). Glyk. 379,16 ff. connects both the Cedrenus and the Zonaras tradition.

10.80 The words ἐξῆλθε(ν) δόγμα παρ' ... ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ... appear in Luc. 2,1.
The year of the world ,εφ' (5500) as the year of Christ's birth figures also in e. g. Mal. p. 228,4. Georg. Mon. I 300,1, Joel 24,21, Anon. Sath. 25,25. Sync. 590,5 has ,εφα' (= 5501, cf. Chron. Pasch. II 88), Chron. Pasch. I 374,14 ,εφζ' (= 5507); see also Chron. Pasch. I 393,11; Cedr. I 304,19 gives ,εφϛ' (= 5506).
For the Byzantine chronology in general, see V. Grumel.

12.82–83 See Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* II, 2, Ecl. Hist. 277,10.
The story is told by Suet. *Aug.* cap. 115. There the C of Caesar was struck away. The corruption σύγραμμα may indicate that either the author or a copyist made reference to the σ of σεβαστός, unless reference was made to the latin C: τὸ C γράμμα (cf. 44,10 τὸ Φ στοιχεῖον). In Dio Cassius 56,29, 4 we read, however: καὶ κεραυνὸς ἐς εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἑστῶσαν ἐμπεσὼν τὸ γράμμα τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἠφάνισεν. Cf. Cedr. I 301,12–14, Zon. II 428,22.

12.83 One can hardly believe that this text is correct. Suetonius informs us that Augustus died at the age of 76. So one might think of a corruption of ἑβδομήκοντα into πεντήκοντα, viz. οϛ' into νϛ'. Dio Cassius is very precise on Augustus' age: ζήσας μὲν πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας δέκα καὶ ἡμέρας ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι, (cf. Mal. 232,8 γέρων ὢν ἐτῶν δέ, Zon. II 429,3 ζήσας ἔτη ἓξ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τριάκοντα καὶ τεσσάρων ἐνδεουσῶν ἡμερῶν) but most of the Byzantine historians mention the length of his rule: Chron. Pasch. I 360,3–4 Ῥωμαίων δεύτερος ἐβασίλευσεν Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς Αὔγουστος ὁ καὶ Ὀκτάβιος ἔτη νϛ', μῆνασ ϛ', ... Man. 1926: ἐφ' ὅλοις δὲ πεντήκοντα οὖν ἓξ κρατήσας χρόνοις, Joel 24,16 ... ἐβασίλευσεν ... ἔτη νϛ', etc., Cedr. I 300,22–23 Ὀκτάβιος Αὔγουστος Καῖσαρ ... ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη νϛ'. Hence it is more probable that after βιοὺς (unless itself a corruption of βασιλεύσας) some words have dropped out, e. g. βιοὺς ⟨ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας⟩ (cf. 16.60) or ⟨ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ⟩ (cf. 16.71) or ⟨ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ⟩ (cf. 18.23). It should, however, be noticed that this is not the only passage where βιούς is used by our author to mean βασιλεύσας, e. g. 20.53. On the other hand, where the term in this sense is used for the first time, it cannot fail to give the wrong suggestion. For this reason I have indicated a hiatus after βιούς.

12.86 ⟨ἀ⟩παραίτητος. I have made this conjecture for two reasons:
1. both the qualification βαρύς and the expression under discussion seem to ask for an interpretation in line with στάσιμος: only where religious matters are concerned is he unsteady.
2. one may ask what the meaning may be of παραίτητος πρὸς ὀργήν. The common meaning of παραίτητος is *placable*. Παραίτητος πρὸς ὀργήν should be interpreted as "placable, even if angry", which seems unlikely in combination with βαρύς and contradictory to στάσιμος. The same objection is valid if παραίτητος could possibly mean 'prone to'.

In my opinion, the context requires something like "gruff and implacable, when once angry".

Psellos *Const. VIII*, X 15–16 offers the following connection: σκήπτεται μὲν κατὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὀργὴν βαρυτάτην καὶ ἀπαραίτητον, whereas Psellos' syntax offers also instances of πρὸς + acc. operating as an *accusativus relationis* connected with adjectives e. g. *Patr.* 573 D ὡραῖος εἰς ὅρασιν τυγχάνει, ἡδύς τε πρὸς ὄσφρησιν cf. Renauld, *Et.* 143, 144, 183, Böhlig, *Unters.* 158, who instances 105 cases of πρὸς + acc. instead of an *acc. rel.*

It may be noticed that our author follows another channel of information than the one of Dio Cass. 57,1 (cf. Zon. II 433) where Tiberius' unpredictable behaviour has been stressed. It resembles more a characteristic given by Tac. *Ann.* III 15 who describes Tiberius' reacting against Piso: *multo magis exterritus est quam quod Tiberius sine miseratione, sine ira, obstinatum clausamque vidit, ne quo adfectu perrumperetur.*

οὔτε γὰρ κτλ. Tiberius' interest in Christianity is often mentioned by Byzantine authors after Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* II, 3. See also Ecl. Hist. 278,4–6, Sync. I 621,13 ff., Cedr. I 345,10–12.
On the death of Pilatus various traditions can be found. According to Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* II, 7 Pilatus committed suicide, in Mal. 256,17 he was put to death by Nero, according to others by Tiberius (on instigation of Maria Magdalena) as in Ecl. Hist. 278,7–8, Glyk. 435,20 ff. Man. 1986–1990, Anon. Sath. 28,3 ff. (with some cruel details).

12.89 I owe this correction of δεῖν into δυεῖν to my colleague Prof. D. Holwerda. The conjecture βραδείας instead of ms. βραδεῖαν is rather obvious. Tiberius' prolongation of the terms of office of provincial governors has been mentioned by a number of classic and byzantine authors, e. g. Tac. *Ann.* I, 80, id., VI, 39,3, Flav. Jos. *Antiqu.* XVIII, 6,5 (170 ff.), Ecl. Hist. 278,10–14, cp. Cedr. I 344,9–15, Anon. Sath. 27,28, Man. 1944 ff. Most of them repeat the story given by Flav. Jos. *l. c.* (174), with Tiberius' parable of the flies that got sated of a bloody wound, cf. Aesop. *Fab.* 314: Arist. *Rhet.* II 1393b23–1394a1.

Suet. *Tib.* cap. 34 uses the famous saying: *boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglutere*, which can be found in Glyk. 435,10–12. Man. *l.c.* mentions both stories. See also F. B. Marsh, *The Reign of Tiberius* (1931) p. 157 ff.

12.1 Act. Apost. 8,27 tells the story of the baptism, by Philip, of the eunuch of the queen Candace of Aethiopia. Both Ecl. Hist. 278,30/31 and our author presents the baptism of a man, named Κανδάκης. The triviality of this mistake can be deduced from its presence on the famous 6th c. floor mosaic of Madeba in Transjordan, which represents the Holy Land and its sacred places, among which ΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΕΝΘΑ ΛΕΓΟΥCΙ ΒΑΠΤΙCΘΗΝΑΙ ΚΑΝΔΑΚΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΝ. (cf. B. Narkiss: *History of Jewish Civilisation,* Jerusalem 1974.)

12.3 The terminology ἀσελγέστατος has been preserved by Anon. Sath. 28,14. Only Proverbs 23,27 combines ἀλλότριον and φρέαρ.

12.13 It will be clear from Ecl. Hist. 279,15 that the number ten has dropped out: Κλαύδιος ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ιγ′ μῆνας ε′.

12.16 The 'keyword' ξιφίδιον occurs in all the texts cited, expect Man. 2011–15 who humorously created the connection ἐγκολπίδιον ... ξίφος!

12.17 καθώπλιστο. I have made this correction and similar ones following the Psellosian rule of applying the augment, cf. Renauld, *Et.* 48, Böhlig *Unters* 71.

12.18 In the text of our author a curious mistake has slipped in. Instead of Ἀγρίππας καὶ Ἡρώδης ἀναιροῦσιν the original text must have been Ἀγρίππας ὁ καὶ Ἡρώδης ἀναιρεῖ, cf. Ecl. Hist. 279,22 Ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀγρίππας, ὁ καὶ Ἡρώδης, ἀνεῖλεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννου μαχαίρᾳ, ... See Act. Apost. 12,2. Cf. also e. g. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* II, 9, Sync. 629,13 etc. This and other remarks can generally be found in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.*, where, however, in most cases another presentation has been used.

14.22 On τερατευόμενος see Index Graecitatis.

14.23–24 On the death of Claudius caused by eating a poisoned mushroom, see e. g. Tac. *Ann.* 12,67, Dio Cass. 60, 34, 2, Suet. *Claud.* 44. It seems that this remark, which closes chapter 20, has been noted at the wrong place, and should have followed the words συμποσίοις καὶ δείπνοις (12,17—18). This means that the passage 12,18—14,23 on Herodes Agrippa etc. has either been interpolated or originally came after the remarks on Claudius' death, as is the case in Ecl. Hist. 279,21 ff.

14.25–37 (§ 21) The chapter on Nero has a number of surprising remarks in comparison with the canonic Byzantine historians. Though the information about Nero's murders of his mother and his wife and his love affair with a eunuch, as well as about the execution of the Apostles Peter

and Paul conforms to what should be expected, the accompanying "setting" seems to be the author's own invention, e. g. the remarks that no worse person was seen on earth before him, nor is hoped for after him (see *ad* 14.26). The same can be said about the author's criticism of Nero's unmusicality. Even the grumbling Tacitus is ready to admit that Nero had indeed some poetical talent (*Ann.* XIII, 3,7) and Suet. *Nero* XV dwells at length on Nero's musical activities, but perhaps it was his remark that Nero had only a weak and dusky voice (*quamquam exiguae vocis et fuscae*, Suet. *l.c.*, cf. Dio Cass. 61, 20, 2 καίτοι καὶ βραχὺ καὶ μέλαν, ὥς γε παραδέδοται, φώνημα ἔχων) that gave rise to this downright negative qualification.

14.26 πρὸ τοῦ. My guess is that this conjecture is necessary as a complement to ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα (βίος). For the expression, see e. g. Thuc. II 58,2 ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ὑγιαίνοντας, Aesch. *Eum.* 462 τὸν πρὸ τοῦ φεύγων χρόνον etc.

14.32 I have corrected ἐρυθρία of the ms. into ἠρυθρία because

a) Atticistic (Byzantine) authors always use the temporal augment in imperfect and aorist according to the classical rule, see Renauld, *Et.* 23, 29, Böhlig, *Unters.* 71.

b) The use of the imperfect seems to be more adequate in this context than a present indicative ἐρυθριᾷ, which is more attractive paleographically because it requires only the assumption of a displaced accent.

14.33 The term κατακλῶν (τοὺς δακτύλους) is probably to be interpreted in the sense in which Lucian *Symp.* 18 and *Salt.* 27 uses κατακλᾶν ἑαυτόν to describe a effeminate danser.

For καμπαὶ ᾀσμάτων see Philostr. *VS* 2,28.

14.36 Πτερύγιον: the pinnacle of the temple of Jerusalem, cf. Luc. 4,9. The source of the story is Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* II, 23,12 where, however, Jacob is lastly killed by a blow with a carder's stick (cf. also Sync. 634,5. Syncellus cites another more detailed story from Hegesippus, a disciple of the Apostles, in which Jacob's life is put to an end in the same way. See also Cedr. I 362,5–6.

14.38–42 The text given by the ms. contains a number of difficulties:

a) it has a dot between the second and third οὗτος, which implies that a main verb is lacking.

b) one may ask what the function should be of the double presence of οὗτος in line 41.

c) the introduction of Galba is somewhat abrupt. Can δὲ be genuine?

d) Γάλβος instead of Γάλβας.

There are several solutions thinkable: 1) Γάλβος is an announcement, and δὲ a mere mistake, to be changed into ἦν: Γάλβος. Ἦν τῶν μὲν εὐπατριδῶν οὗτος etc., cf. § 23, § 25, § 27 with ἐγεγόνει instead of ἦν.

2) In other sections (§ 21, § 24, § 26 etc.) a verbal complement is lacking too. One may delete δὲ and read: Γάλβος [δὲ]. Τῶν μὲν εὐπατριδῶν οὗτος κτλ. 3) I am convinced that also in the first and second case the οὗτος after ἁλώσιμος should be struck out. But the double presence of οὗτος may be perhaps an indication that this οὗτος was syntactically meant to be an *epanalepsis* after a long parenthetic clause. Assuming that the functions of δὲ can be interpreted as both contradistinctive to Nero and pointing to an equally violent death of Galba provoked by his adopting Piso as his son, I have maintained δὲ, made τῶν μὲν – ἁλώσιμος [οὗτος] into a parenthetic clause and brought τίθεται into the position of main verb after Γάλβος δὲ ...

14.41 παῖδα τίθεσθαι ἑαυτῷ τινα: a rather unusual expression for the common υἱοθετῶ τινα, υἱὸν θέσθαι τινά, *to adopt someone as a son.*

16.50 Plut. *Galba* 19,2 gives a less negative qualification of Otho's descent: ἦν δὲ Μάρκος Ὄθων, ἀνὴρ γένει μὲν οὐκ ἀφανής, ... See also Suet. *Otho* cap. 1, Tac. *Hist.* II,50.

16.52 ff. Suet. *Otho* 12,1 mentions Otho's frequent celebrations in honour of the goddess Isis. Our author's presentation is obviously more authentic than the observation in Ecl. Hist. 281,5–6 (= Cedr. I 379,17) that 'Otho, once offering, mixed Aphrodite-songs among the sacred ones'.

16.55 ff. It is not clear from which source this information has been drawn.

16.62 ff. Vitellius' well-to-do parentage is also mentioned by Ecl. Hist. 281,13 ff. = Cedr. I 379,21 ff., cf. also Anon. Sath. 29,16–19. Ecl. Hist. gives the rather peculiar name Βιτάλιος, Cedrenus has two spellings: Οὐϊτέλιος ἢ Βιτέλιος. In the same passages Vitellius' cruel measures against the astrologers have also been related, but our author uses a more explicit phraseology.

Cf. also in Dio Cassius 65,1,4 (= Xiph. 193, 23–30, Zon. II 487,3–8), with greater resemblance to Suet. *Vitellius* 14.4; Tac. *Hist.* II 62 limits his communication to three words: *mathematici Italia pulsi.*

16.65 The text must be corrupt: Vitellius' hatred of the astrologers was so great that he wished their profession illiminated from the registers. One may read ὥστε βούλεσθαι or ὡς δὴ βούλεσθαι, the second solution being, indeed, closer to the corrupt ὡς μή, but nonetheless a rather unusual, albeit not unparallelled, connection, cf. Hom. Il. E 24 (ἀλλ' Ἥφαιστος ἔρυτο ...) ὡς δή οἱ πάγχυ γέρων ἀκαχήμενος εἴη. In consecutive constructions, however, δὴ is often found in classical authors, e. g. Herodotus, together with οὕτω, but not with ὡς or ὥστε of the apodosis. That is why I have chosen ὥστε.

16.67 I have restored what seems to be the correct word-order. Πραγματεύομαι is construed both with acc. and with περὶ + acc./+ gen., but in an attributive connection between two substantives περί can be used for strengthening the objective rather than the subjective genitive. So the connection περὶ τῶν ἀστέρων κινήσεις does not look very probable. The supposition that the preposition was used here with anastrophe (τὰς πέρι ... κινήσεις) is not attractive either.

16.81 On the greediness of Vespasian, see Suet. *Vesp.* 16.1: *sola est, in qua merito culpetur, pecuniae cupiditas.* Sueton (*ibid.*) also makes the observation that Vespasian calculated the direct need for State finances at 40 million sesterces, and that he made good use of the money not always honestly acquired. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* II,5: *prorsus, si avaritia abesset, antiquis ducibus par.* More favourable appreciations in Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 9, Eutr. VII 19.2 and the Suda s. v. Βεσπασιανός = § 246, I 468,25 ff. (Adler).

16.82 περιχειλεῖς: Renauld, *Et.* 177 n. considers this word to be invented by Psellos to replace ἐπιχειλής. Besides *Is. Comm.* LV,9, the word occurs in Nic. Chon. (*Hist.* 112,46; 307,78), see Renauld *Lex.* 91. Further instances are C. Manasses in VV 7 (1900) 630,21, and *Vitae duae Athanasii Athonitae* (ed. J. Noret, Turnhout/Leuven 1982) 12,10. Ancient Greek περιχειλόω (Xen. *Eq.* 4,4) is not relevant for this signification.

16.84 The information on Vespasian's dying 'in the armour' also comes from Suet. *Vesp.* 24.1: *nec eo minus muneribus imperatoriis ex consuetudine fungeretur, ... 'imperatorem', ait, 'stantem mori oportere', ...* . The same information occurs in Dio Cass. 66,17,2: τῶν δὲ ἰατρῶν ἐπιτιμώντων αὐτῷ ὅτι τῇ τε ἄλλῃ διαίτῃ ὁμοίᾳ νοσῶν ἐχρῆτο καὶ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔπραττε, "τὸν αὐτοκράτορα" ἔφη "ἑστῶτα δεῖ ἀποθνήσκειν" = Xiph. 210,21–24. Cf. also Dio Cass. 69,18 on the *praefectus praetorio* Turbo: τὸν ἐπάρχοντα ἑστῶτα ἀποθνῄσκειν δεῖ. See further (Aur. Vict.) Epit. 9.

18.85 I have adopted the accentuation Τίτος instead of Τῖτος. The tradition is, indeed, twofold (Τίτος in e. g. Zon. = Dio Cass., in Mal., Τῖτος in Ecl. Hist., Georg. Mon., Cedr., Glykas etc.), but because our text is here not clearly dependent on either of the two traditions, it seems reasonable to interpret the notation Τίτος as a reminiscense of the elder tradition.

18,85—90 Important elements of the favorable consensus about Titus are to be found in Suet. *Tit.*, cap. 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7, but also in Dio Cass. 66,18 and Flav. Jos. *B.J.* VI 6,2 (324) (τὸ φιλάνθρωπον sc. τοῦ Τίτου), *Antiqu.* XII 3,2 (128) etc. Especially on his generosity: Suet. *Tit.* cap. 7 ("*amici, diem perdidi*", "*nec oportere, ait, quemquam a sermone principis tristem discedere*"). The first of these sayings has been rendered in Greek as

"σήμερον οὐκ ἐβασίλευσα ἐπεὶ οὐδένα εὐηργέτησα" (Zon. II 498,9–10). Though Zonaras generally follows Dio Cassius/Xiphilinus, it would appear that he got this datum from elsewhere, because it is lacking in Dio as well as in Xiphilinus. In Ecl. Hist. 282,3 the saying has been replaced by a general statement: 'during his reign no day passed in which he did not provide someone with some gift or benefit', cf. Cedr. I 380,15. But the saying can also be found in Glyk. 445,4: "σήμερον οὐκ ἐβασιλεύσαμεν, ἐπειδή τινα οὐκ εὐεργετήσαμεν".

The second saying is also lacking in Dio Cassius/Xiphilinus but appears again in Ecl. Hist. 282,5 ἔλεγε δὲ ὅτι τὸν βλέποντα βασιλέα οὐ δεῖ ἐξέρχεσθαι λυπούμενον, Cedr. I 380,21 "οὐδένα", εἶπεν ὁ Τῖτος, "ἀπὸ βασιλέως δεῖ σκυθρωπὸν ἀποπέμπεσθαι", Glyk. 445,3 "οὐ δεῖ τινὰ βλέποντα βασιλέα ὑποστρέφειν λυπούμενον".

Both sayings are also to be found in Man.: 2081/82 "οὐκ ἐγενόμην βασιλεὺς τήμερον (!) οὐδὲ κράτωρ· / οὐδένα γὰρ κατήντλησα ῥείθροις εὐεργεσίας", which reminds τὴν χεῖρα ῥεῦμα ποτάμιον of our text. 2084/85: "οὐ χρὴ τὸν θεασάμενον πρόσωπον βασιλέως / παλιννοστεῖν περίλυπον ἐν σκυθρωποῖς προσώποις".
They also found a place in Anon. Sath. 30,4–7.

18.90–92 cf. Ecl. Hist. 282,2 Τῖτος ἀπειλαῖς οὐ τιμωρίαις ἐφόβει μόνον, = Cedr. I 380,14.

18.92 κατεδείμαινεν. As a substitue for ἐφόβει clearly transitive. The verb is mentioned in LSJ. s. v. only for Eun. *SV.* p. 487B with intransitive meaning "*to fear*". Renauld *Lex.* s. v. and *Et.* 78,139 indicates that Psellos uses the word in a transitive way, but both he and Sewter take the word as an intransitive in *Rom. III*, VII,20, whereas in *Rom. III*, IX,6 there can be no doubt about its transitive meaning. I think that also in *Rom. III*, VII,20 a transitive meaning should be accepted: καταδειμαινόντων sc. αὐτόν.

18.92–1 The presentation of the story points to the tradition based on Dio Cass. 66,26,2 (Xiph. 216, Zon. II 498,17, cf. Ecl. Hist. 282,1, Cedr. I 381,1) which tells that Titus, being vexed by fever, was laid down by Domitian into a chest filled up with snow. This chest turns into a grave in Georg. Mon. 437,8, Joel 28,21. Sync. 648,16 lets Titus be poisoned, Glyk. 445,8 makes a sea-hare responsable for his death. These two remarks have to be combined, see Philostr. *Vita Apoll. T.* VI; Suet. *Tit.* 10,1 simply mentions that Titus contracted a strong fever during a journey in a sedan and died in the *Villa Vespasiani.*

18.5 Νέρωνι. Cedr. I 429,17 (= Georg. Mon. 444,3) recalls Tiberius' and Nero's behaviour, Anon. Sath. 30,10 Gaius (Caligula)'s and Nero's.

18.5–6 Dio Cass. 67,1,3/Xiph. 217 may have provided a starting-point for this remark, albeit with opposite result.

18.8 Mention has been made of Apollonius Tyaneus by Dio Cass. 67,18,1 (cf. Xiph. 226, Zon. II 503,5) in a story suggesting a sort of telepathic experience of the philosopher reacting to Domitian's death. Simple remarks or ample narratives on Apollonius are given by e. g. Mal. 263,18 ff. Georg. Mon. 444,2 ff., Cedr. I 431,2 ff., etc.

18.9 Λάρκος. Ecl. Hist. 282,20 has Λάρπος, Cedr. I 430,20 Λάργιος, but the name has been corrupted from Λαργῖνός τις Πρόκλος Dio Cass. 67,16,2 (Xiph. 225 Λαργεῖνός τις Πρόκλος, Zon. II 502,8).

18.13 Γέρβας. The Γ must be a mistake of a scribe. Elsewhere Νέρβας, Νερβᾶς, Νέρουας, Νερούας, Νερουᾶς.

18.20–22 The parenthesis is lacking in other accounts. It is generally taken for granted that the day of adoption was in fact 27 Oct. 97 (Kl. P. W. V 920,7). The 27th of Oct. was the first day of the *ludi Victoriae Sullanae*. But, as has been pointed out by Peter Herz: *Kaiserfeste der Prinzipatzeit* (in Temporini ANRW XVI 2, p. 1168—69) this date only derives from a remark in the *Epit. de Caes.* 12.9: *cum quo* (*i. e.* Traiano) *tribus vixit mensibus* (Nerva died on 27th January 90!). It seems to be more plausible to suppose that the festival mentioned here was 18th September, the *dies imperii*, being the anniversary of both Nerva and Trajan. Cf. also J. Helgeland, *Roman Army Religion* (ANRW XVI 2, p. 1470 ff.) on the *Feriale Duranum*.

18.21 ἀρίσημος, an uncommon old word, used in *h. Merc.* 12, but also in *Epigr. Gr.* 260 (Cyrene), cf. LSJ. It does not occur either in Psellos or in Anna Comn.

ἡμέρα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν (sc. ἡμερῶν): one of the festival days. For this signification, cf. e. g. Plb. 31,26,4 πάντα συνεξηκολούθει κατὰ τὰς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐξόδους αὐτῇ (*in festival processions*), cf. *ibid* 7 ἐπίσημοι ἔξοδοι and τότε κατὰ τύχην οὔσης ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ πανδήμου θυσίας.

20.25 Κέλτος. In Dio Cass. 68,4,1 Ἴβηρ.

φιλολογώτατος[2]. A striking remark, obviously due to Trajan's friendship with Dio Chrysostom. The same remark is made of Hadrian, whom it fits better.

20.27 φίλοικτος *prone to pity*, alone in Sch. Il. 22,88 (LSJ). Neither in Psellos *Chron.* nor in Anna Comn., but Psellos uses the word in Δικαστικά, ed. Sath. V 212,17 ἀλλὰ τό γε δικαστήριον φιλοίκτῳ γνώμῃ τῷ Ἐλπιδίῳ προσέθετο, …, see *ibid.* 526,24 (Renauld, *Lex.* s. v.).

20.28 τὰ ἐς φιλοτιμίαν: see for this constr. Renauld, *Et.* 342.

20.29 For the signification of ἐμπεσόντας see LSJ ἐμπίπτω 7c.

20.31 On the martyrship of Ignatios and Symeon see also Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* III 32 (τοῦ Κλωπᾶ), *ibid.* III 36, Georg. Mon. 450,11–12 (τοῦ

Κλωπᾶ), Joel 30,7 (τοῦ Κλοπᾶ). Zon. II 513,20 mentions only Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλοπᾶ, Anon. Sath. 31,1 only Ignatios.

20.35 φιλολογώτατος: see *ad* 20.25.

20.36 Dio Cass. 63,3,1 writes ἦν δὲ Ἀδριανὸς ... φιλολόγος ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ γλώσσῃ· καί τινα καὶ πεζὰ καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι ποιήματα παντοδαπὰ καταλέλοιπε, pointing to Hadrian's knowledge of Greek and Latin. In Zon. II 515,4 this aspect has been left out: ἦν ... φιλολόγος ἀνήρ, ὃς καὶ ποιήματά τινα πεζά τε καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι καταλέλοιπεν.

20.43 Εὐσεβῆ: it may be useful to remark that this terminology has been used again at line 50 of this same page: εὐσεβὴς ... ἐπωνόμαστο, and seems to be taken from a Dio Cassius-source, cf. Dio Cass. 70,2,1 Αὔγουστον αὐτὸν καὶ Εὐσεβῆ ... ἐπωνόμασεν ἡ βουλή = Xiph. 256,25. The terminology chosen elsewhere is ἐπεκλήθη or a similar expression.

20.43–44 Sick Hadrian's praying for death is mentioned by Dio Cass. 69,17,2 ... πολλάκις μὲν ἀποσβῆναι εὐξάμενος, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀποκτανεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἐθελήσας, see also Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 113 (p. 222 Mai. = p. 204,6–15 Dind.). Other reflections of this story in Ecl. Hist. 284,19 = Cedr. I 438,15.

20.35–44 (§ 31) This chapter has little or nothing in common with the presentation in the other quoted authors, except for the terminology ἐπωνόμαστο mentioned at line 51. It should be stated that the information about Antoninus Pius in Byzantine authors is very restricted because of the fact that there have been only a few fragments of his life preserved in Dio Cassius. Xiphilinus, Zonaras and others have expanded their stories with information from Eusebius and other ecclesiastical authors. Our author, however, did not make use of this kind information either.

20.54 εἴκοσιν. According to LSJ this form is generally preferred by Aristophanes and occurs also in some Atticistic authors. Neither Renauld (*Et.*, *Lex.*) nor Böhlig *Unters.* makes an observation on this form.

20.55 κρᾶμα πασῶν ἀρετῶν. See for this expression also Psellos *Op. Min.* I 164,16 κρᾶμα ἐγεγόνει οὐ ξυμπασῶν μόνον ἀρετῶν, ...

20.60–63 This rain- and lightningmiracle has obviously been christianized. The story occurs in Dio Cass. 71,10,1 and it seems that the miracle was the work of an Egyptian magician Arnouphis, as can be distilled from Xiph. 260,261, where also the process of christianization of the story can be followed. That this process took place at an early stage becomes clear from Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* V 5,3 sqq., who mentions that the story is also told by pagan authors. Summaries of the story occur in Ecl. Hist. 285,8–15 = Cedr. I 439,15–22 = Georg. Mon. 451,18/19, see also Anon. Sath. 32,9 ff.; Zon. II 528,11–529,19 disavows Dio and follows Xiphilinus.

Our author, however, has the miracle wrought not by the prayer of the christian Melitene legion but by that of the Emperor himself, a very pious heathen!

22.66 The Hist. Aug. VII 17,3 mentions that Commodus dyed his hair and made it to shine with gold dust.

22.67–73 The information given by our author covers what is found in e. g. Dio Cass., Xiph., Zon. but his presentation does not evoke any clear reminiscenses.

22.68 ὁρμητίας, not in LSJ, once in Psellos *Mich. VI*, XXIV, 28. For our passage cf. Man. 1859 (on Augustus) θυμώδης ἦν, ἀκρόχολος, ὀργίλος, ὁρμητίας. Man. once more 3596. See also Renauld, *Lex*.

22.74–75 According to Dio Cass. 72,22,4–5, Xiph. 280,27 ff. Commodus survived an attempt of murder by poison and was killed afterwards in the bath. Our author mentions the poison only, as does Man. 2249. Ecl. Hist. 285,21–22 – Cedr. I 441,13–14 opts for the bath. Georg. Mon. 452,3 suggests a bile disease.

22.76–81 This chapter, too, does not provide clear reminiscenses of the common sources. The measures which are alluded to in ll. 22.78–81 can be connected with what is mentioned in Hist. Aug. VIII 6,10.

22.85–86 Our author mentions only Africanus; Ecl. Hist. 285,31–286,2 mentions, besides the Ebisonaean heresy, the authors Porphyrius and Africanus; Cedr. I 441 the Ebisonaean heretic Symmachus, Porphyrius, Africanus and the martyrship of the father of Origenes; Georg. Mon. 452,18–20 gives the names of Clemens Stromateus, Symmachus and Origenes, besides the martyrship of Leonidas, bishop and father of Origenes.

22.87–24.1 (§ 35) The presentation of this chapter differs considerably from the presentation both in Dio Cass. (Xiph., Zon.) and Ecl. Hist. (Cedr., Georg. Mon.).

24.92 ὥσπερ κατακολπίσας. The verb is given by LSJ with the signification "run into a bay". But here we have to do with a transitive use and it most likely derives from κόλπος 'bosom', 'lap', 'pocket'. Hence 'store up' or perhaps 'cramm his pockets with'. See also Eustath. *Opusc.* 8,44 Πλοῦτον κατακολπίσαι.

24.8 On Severus' building activity in Byzantium see also Mal. 291,15 ff., cf. Man. 2265–2269.

24.10–11 Cedr. I 442,17–18 points also to the heresies of Paulus of Samosata and Artemon, and has an ample chapter on Origenes; Ecl. Hist. 286,18–19 only mentions Origenes.

24.13 Our author does not mention the common surname ὁ Καράκαλος (Dio, Xiph., Ecl. Hist.).

24.13–23 (§ 37) There is a certain general correspondence with Ecl. Hist./Cedr./Georg. Mon., but our author clearly has his own presentation.

24.15 ἠπειγμένως (pf. ἤπειγμαι since Flav. Jos. *B.J.* I 8,7 (177), see LSJ) as far as I see not elsewhere in Psellos or Anna Comn.

24.21–22 As to the 'apophthegma' our author has a wording different from that of Ecl. Hist. etc., which uses a formulation taken from Dio Cass. 78,7,1, where Caracalla's father says these words appearing to his son in a dream.

24.22 ἀντιπεριέρχεσθαι seldom occurs. The Thesaurus L. Graec. quotes one instance from Theod. Prod., but there with a preposition. See also: *Vitae duae Athanasii Athonitae* (ed. Noret) 42,26 and Chrestides, *Markiana Anecdota* (Thessalonike 1984) Ἀνάχαρσις 352. There is a considerable number of verbs, composed with the combination ἀντιπερι-, e. g. ἀντιπεριχωρέω, ἀντιπεριΐστασθαι (Psellos, *Scr. min.* I 56,25).

24.24–34 (§ 38) Our author presents here a somewhat more detailed account than Ecl. Hist. 287,8–13 = Cedr. I 449,11–16; these have drawn the essential information from Dio Cass. 78,11 ff. This information occurs also here, but there are some important deviations, e. g. the fact that Avitus has been presented as a legitimate son of Antoninus (Caracalla), whereas the Dio source speaks of a υἱὸς μοίχειος or Ψευδαντωνῖνος.

24.27 κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ. For this kind of construction see Renauld *Et.* 148. The same construction in 28.75.

26.35–45 (§ 39) The facts mentioned in this chapter derive from Dio Cass. 80,16 and 17, the wording, however, bears its own character, different from Dio, Cedr. I 449,18 ff. and Zon. II 567,11–12, 569,19 ff. as well. Ecl. Hist. 287,15 ff. also curtailed the story drastically.
A rather striking detail is the word ἐξανέψιος used to qualify the relationship between Heliogabal (Avitos) and Alexander, son of Mamaea. Ecl. Hist. 287,18 and Cedr. I 450,2 use the word ἐξάδελφος, Zon. II 571,3–4 makes the following rather peculiar remark: Τοῦ δὲ Ψευδαντωνίνου ἀναιρεθέντος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ ἐκείνου ἀνεψιός (οὕτω γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς ἐξαδέλφους ὠνόμαζον) τὴν αὐταρχίαν ἀπεκληρώσατο, which looks like a compromise between the terms used by Ecl. Hist. and our author. Psellos uses the word ἐξανέψιος twice in the *Chron.* (*Const. IX*, XCIX, 2, *Rom. IV*, XXVIII, 5).
It should also be noticed that our author has superseded the common ἰατρός, ἰατροί by Ἀσκληπιάδαι, a term to be found in Psellos *Chron.* (*Is. Comn.*, LVII, 9, *id.*, LXXIV, 4) and Anna Comn. II 373,4,21, 374,18. See also Nic. Chon., *Or.* 167,5, *Hist.* 41,86.

26.46–56 (§ 40) This chapter, too, shows little or no correspondence with Dio, Ecl. Hist., Cedr.
On Mamaea's piety see Cedr. I 450,7, Ecl. Hist. 287,24, Sync. I 675,15, Glyk. 453,8, Anon. Sath. 35,16–18.

26.62–65 The corruption of this passage seems irreparable. But the essence of the assertion can be distilled from Zon. II 576,7–14. That passage makes clear at least that Maximinus not only persecuted the Christians but also killed his own wife, and, being himself of low origin, raged against the higher ranks. He wished to win the prize for godlessness, as seems to be the meaning of the second part of the sentence. If correct, the reading ἀναδείσασθαι should be altered to ἀναδήσασθαι, cf. Proc. I 14,23, VI 28,12, IV 16,20. For the character of Maximinus' reign, see also Zos. I 13,6 ff., Herod. VII 3,1–5, Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* VIII, 14.

26.70 For παραπολαύω, see LSJ. The word is not found in Psellos, but in Anna Comn. it occurs twice with ἐλευθερίας (I 290,9; 450,17), in a slightly weekened application. Our author uses the original signification 'share the fruits of'.

28.75 κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ. See *ad* 24.27.

28.76 This remark on Origenes is at least careless. He died not before 254 under Valerianus/Gallienus.

28.77–78 Our author's remark on Philip's descent is in violent contrast with Zos. I 18,5 who mentions that Philip came forth from the Arabs, ἔθνος χείριστον, a worthless tribe. That he was the father of the martyr Eugenia is also mentioned by Ecl. Hist. 288,10, but denied by Zon. II 583,16 ff. Anon. Sath. 37,12 ff. mentions very explicitly Philip's piety, but says that Eugenia was the daughter of the eparch of Egypt, who became a martyr together with his daughter.

28.81 The adjective ὑπερωμίας, deriving from the subst. ὑπερωμία cf. I Ki. 9,12; 10,23, is repeatedly used by Anna Comn. (I 28,5; 446,9; II 139,17; 296,6). The height and stature of Sapor is mentioned also by Zon. II 583,8.

28.86 ἐκθύμως ἀγωνίζεσθαι, cf. D. H. II, 54,4 and Anna Comn. II, 253,16, not elsewhere in Psellos.

28.94 ff. The persecutions of the Christians under Decius provide a motive to sum up a number of martyrs who fell at that time. Our author mentions the same martyrs as in Ecl. Hist. 289,2 ff., though not in the same order. Some of the same names combined with others are mentioned in Cedr. I 454,9 ff., Zon. II 585,10 ff., Sync. I 683,7 ff., 684,4 ff., see also *ibid.* 706, 707, criticizing Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* VI 39 ff., Chron. Pasch. I 503,10, *ibid.* 510,2 ff..

28.6 ff. This pestilence lasted eleven years, according to Ecl. Hist. 289,9 sqq.; the number fifteen is given by our author and Zonaras. Zos. I 26,3 mentions the fact without indicating duration. In Glykas 455,2 the pestilence (λοιμός) is changed into a famine (λιμός) taking place under Valerian, who reigned fifteen years!
Georg. Mon. 465,14 also places the pestilence under the reign of Valerian, but his presentation differs considerably from Ecl. Hist., Zon. etc.

28,9 ff. Zon. II 590,2 ff. mentions also the Scythian (= Gothic, see Sync. I 705,10) invasion into Italy. Sync. *l.c.* names Dexippos as his source. For the connection ποταμηγοῖς σκάφεσι cf. D. H. II, 55,4 σκάφαι ποταμηγοί, III 56,1 σκάφας ποταμηγούς.

30.19 κατωφρύωτο. A striking term, not to be found in Psellos, nor in Anna Comn. The verb is used in Philostr. *Vita Apollonii* 3,8 signifying 'to be furnished with eyebrows', and metaphorically in Lucian *Am.* 53: λόγοι κατωφρυωμένοι 'stern, severe words', see LSJ s. v. The significance here is slightly different: 'be haughty'.

30.22 ἀπεβδελύττοντο. The only instance mentioned in LSJ of the verb ἀποβδελύττεσθαι is Eustrat. (Philos. XI/XII A. D.) *Comm. in Aristot.* EN 19,4 'reject with abhorrence'. Psellos *Rom III*, XV, 13 has only βδελυσσόμενος.

30.24 The ms. consistently writes Οὐαλλερῖνος and Γαλλῖνος. Euagr. 219,2 (ed. Bidez-Parmentier) has Οὐαλλεριανός (mss. LPB = z Βαλλ-), but the name is commonly noted with one -λ-. On 143,30/31 the text of Bidez-Parmentier offers Οὐαλεριανός and Γαλλιήνου, but the mss. ALB Οὐαλλεριανός, ms. A. Γαλλίνου! As to Gallienus, one meets with more variations: Ecl. Hist. 289,25 ff. Γαληνός, Cramer *An. Par.* II 58,17 (περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν κατὰ βασιλέων γεγονυιῶν) Γαλλιηνός, Zon. II 592,20 Γαλιῆνος (mss. ABC: Γαληῖνος). Zosimus has Βαλεριανός and Γαλλιηνός (I, 30; but in I 36 Οὐαλ.-), in Anon. Sath. has been written Οὐαλεριανός and Γαληΐνος (38,15; 20), in Sync. I 714,7 Οὐαλεριανός and Γαλιηνός, but ms. A reads Οὐαλλεριανός and the mss. write in general Γαλινός. Cedr. I 454,3 has Οὐαλεριανός and Γαλλιῆνος, Joel 33,17 gives Γαλλιανός. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* VII 10 ff. notes Οὐαλλεριανός and Γαλιῆνος, Mal. 295,18 Βαλεριανός, 298,3 Γαλλεινός. According to Euagr. 218, the history of Valerianus had been dealt with by the Sophist Nikostratos of Trabson and Dexippos.

30.25 συνανῃρέθησαν. This statement is very remarkable and contrary to all other accounts, which conform to the story of τινὸς τῶν συγγραφέων!

30.31 ἀποδείραντες. Ecl. Hist. 289,29 says simply that Οὐαλεριανὸς ... ὑπὸ Σαβώρου ἐκδαρεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν. The same in Cedr. I 454,5. Mal.

304,3 ff. mentions a similar story, the emperor Numerianos being the victim; Chron. Pasch. I 510,10–11 takes Numerianus' brother Carinus. Zos. I,36,6–7 tells that Valerian was captured by Sapor as a result of his imprudence. According to Sync. I 716,11 Valerian stayed with Sapor for the rest of his life.

30.31–33 This announcement is probably a distortion of the fact that Gallienus reformed the armies in such a way that the command of legions was transferred from senators to equestrians. (M. Cary–H. H. Scullard, *A History of Rome*, 512).

30.35 The parallels show, indeed, clear correspondence. Obviously a corruption crept into the transmission of our text. The τοῦ before αὐτοκράτορος seems at any rate incorrect. The original text probably ran as follows: Πάππος δὲ οὗτος ⟨Κωνσταντίου πατρὸς⟩ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θείου αὐτοκράτορος. But the corruption existed already in the 'Vorlage', as can be seen from the explanation given in 30.36–38. See also Zon. II 606,5–6, where Κωνστάς has been written instead of Κωνστάντιος. Glyk. 455,8 remarks: Κλαύδιος ... ὁ καὶ πρόπαππος τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου.

30.40–41 The series of *apophthegmata* which begins here seems to indicate that our author had another (unidentified) source, or at least a collection of sayings of emperors, at his disposal. The series ends with Leontios (§ 81).

30.46–32.57 (§ 49) The presentation of this chapter is rather different from Georg. Mon., Ecl. Hist. and Cedr. The person meant by εἷς τούτων is a certain Eros, see Zos. I, 62,2 ff., Zon. II 607,18–608,4 and also Anon. Sath. 39,12–16.

It should be noticed that the reign of Aurelianus has been placed before that of Quintillus.

30.47 ἐξαρκεῖν has here been used in a somewhat unusual manner. Starting-point seems to be the signification 'to be satisfied' or 'to be content with' (cf. LSJ s. v. II), here extended to 'be sufficiently equipped with'. As far as I know, Psellos' works do not offer a strict parallel, but a passage such as Psellos, *Const. X*, XII 5–6 seems not too far off.

30.49 ἐν παραβύστῳ. The same expression in Psellos *Scr. Min.* I 165,14; 368,12, Anna Comn. I 455,6.

30.50 ὑφέρπων. This correction is almost certain, though the verb is not used by Psellos. It has been used by Anna Comnena I 155,11, strikingly construed with a dat., where the acc. is the common construction in classical writers.

32.52 ὑποψιθυρίζειν. A word of Ach. Tat. 1,5 (who applies it in a very poetical way), used by Psellos also in *Eudoc.* VI,1. The verb is dear to Anna Comn.: I 87,14; 275,3; 338,15; 451,1; II 150,15; 318,2; 351,10.

32.54 ἀποκτιννύουσιν. Again a striking verb, to be found in Xen. *Hell.* 4,4,2; 5,2,43. It should be noticed that Psellos in his *Chron.* uses only the common ἀποκτείνω.

ἀπονάμενον. The (already Homeric) ἀπονίναμαι is not used by Psellos (who has ὀνίνημι/ὀνίναμαι). Anna Comn. uses the verb II 254,21.

32.58–71 (§ 50) As already said (*ad* § 49), it is rather surprising to see the chapter on Quintillus placed after that on Aurelianus. It is not the only surprising thing, for the reproduction of his name is striking too. Most canonic seems to be Κυντίλλος (Zos. I 47, Ecl. Hist. 290,10), the greater number of Byzantine authors write, however, Κυντιλιανός (Mal. 299,12, Georg. Mon. 467,17, Cedr. I 454,19, Joel 33,22, Zon. II 605,17, Anon. Sath. 39,4 Κίντα). But our author has a companion for writing Κιντίλιος: Glyk. 455,9; Sync. 720,19 has Κεντίλιος.
More surprising is our author's appreciation for this 'one-day'-emperor. The source is hardly to be sought in Zos. I 47: οὐδὲν ἄξιον πεπραχότος. The same holds good for these authors who at least mention his reign. In a passage of the *Historia Augusta*, ascribed to a certain Trebellius Pollio, *Vita Claudii* cap. 12, the portrait of Quintillus is not totally unfavourable: *Quintillus ob brevitatem temporum nihil dignum imperio gerere potuit. Nam septima decima die, quod se gravem et serium contra milites ostenderat, ac verum principem pollicebatur, eo genere quo Galba, quo Pertinax, interemptus est.*

32.59 The text as it stands in the ms. is impossible. I have deleted ἐξ, interpreting 'at (one and) the same day', suggesting that the emperor carried out daily many tasks. As an alternative one could image that the reading should be ἐξ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας or even ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἡμέρας, signifying either 'from the very day ⟨he was proclaimed emperor⟩' or 'from daybreak'.

32.70 ἤ. Renauld, *Et.* 221–222 reports that Psellos applies ἤ without clearly expressed comparative only in cases where the comparative idea is implicitly given in verbs like βούλομαι, αἱρέομαι etc. This rule is broken here, but the signification is clear and the text probably correct. See also 68.37 with a similar construction.

I wonder whether ἑαυτὸν ὑπεξαγαγεῖν τοῦ βίου is a sort of negative allusion to Hom. Y 300 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἡμεῖς (some of the Gods) πέρ μιν (= Aenas) ὑπὲκ θανάτου ἀγάγωμεν. The apophthegma seems at least to be based on Zos. I 47,2–3: Κυντίλλου κατά τινας τῶν λογοποιῶν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων συμβουλευθέντος, ἅμα τῷ γνῶναι τὴν βασιλείαν Αὐρηλιανῷ παραδεδομένην, *ἑαυτὸν ὑπεξαγαγεῖν* καὶ ἑκόντα τῆς ἀρχῆς

ἀποστῆναι τῷ πολλῷ κρείττονι. Zosimus mentions also Quintillus' death by opening his veins, taken over by Ecl. Hist. 290,13–14 and Cedr. I 454,21–22. See also Zon. II 605,19–606,1 and Anon. Sath. 39,4–8.

32.72–78 This kind of observation is not found in any of the parallel texts.

32.73–74 τύχης ... γέγονε παρανάλωμα. The word παρανάλωμα 'victim', 'prey' is not used by Psellos, but rather frequently by Anna Comn.: I 186,1; 194,16; 387,11; II 68,4; 71,7; 88,6; 98,19; 106,11; 118,23; 254,7; 264,2; 284,9; 326,6; 342,1.

32.84 ἀδελφῷ. The basis of this assertion is unclear. Florianus was a half-brother of Tacitus (Cary-Scullard 515).

34.91 This story is told by Zos. I 67,3. It is found also in Ecl. Hist. 291,3, Cedr. I 463,13, Glyk. 456,8, cf. Anon. Sath. 39,29. Zon. II 609,23 ff. mentions also this story, expressing his doubt with the words: εἴ τισι τοῦτο πιστεύοιτο 'for whom this is believable'.

Our author strikingly uses the verb ὑετίζειν, that occurs for the first time in LXX, Job 38,26, Jer. 14,22. Psellos *Is. Comn.* XLVIII,9 uses the word metaphorically (ἡ γλῶττα ... οὐχ ὑετίζουσα) to describe the way in which the emperor used to speak. It is not found in Anna Comn.

34.92–93 The lines mentioned are a short reproduction of the story told by Zos. I,65. As in our text, the motive for the invitation to dinner is lacking also in Zon. II 609,7–9.

34.93 Ἔνιος. In Zos. *l. c.* one person is said to have escaped, but being recaptured he was burnt at the stake.

34.1 Μάρος. I think the M is not more than a mistake of the *miniator*. I have maintained the reading because of a similar mistake in the Anon. Sath.

34.4–6 Both Ecl. Hist. 291,25–26 and Cedr. I 464,9–11 read wrongly καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Νουμεριανός instead of καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Καρῖνος, though the latter is suggesting that one has to do with another Numerianus. From the addition in Cedr. that this Numerianus was *dux* of Mysia and the information given by Ecl. Hist. 291,28 that Diocletian was *dux* of Mysia (cf. also Zon. II 613,16) one may conclude a confusion of Numerianus and Diocletian in some sources. Our author thus joins the better tradition. His appraisal of Carinus, however, is in violent contrast with Zon. II 612,3–6. Zon. II 611,17–24 gives also the double tradition of the death of Numerianus; either he became blind or he was skinned by the Persians and made into a sack. (See also the life of Valerianus, 30.31). According to Chron. Pasch. I 510,8 it was Carinus who was skinned.

34.9 On the accent of πρέσβευσι, see *ad* 42.60–61.

34.16–18 There are, generally speaking, few clear correspondences between chapter 54 and the other traditions, of which Georg. Syncellus is succeeded by Theoph. Conf. There is, further, in this case a plain discrepancy between Cedr. and Ecl. Hist. For the connection made here between Diocletian's voluntary abdication and his failing to destroy the Christians, see e. g. Theoph. 11,13–17, referring to Eusebius, cf. Ecl. Eccl. Hist. ed. Cramer 90,27, Anon. Sath. 41,11–13.

36.29–57 (§ 55) It should be noticed that there is no separate chapter on Constantius Chlorus, as in Ecl. Hist. 293,7 ff. Chapter 55 itself is also rather concise in comparison to Ecl. Hist. 294,1 ff.

36.32 ἀποστασίαν ὠδίνειν. The same expression in Psellos *Bas.* XXIV,4–5, Anna Comn. I 412,3, II 162,5.

36.34–35 The cross miracle is generally connected with Contantine's war against Maxentius (Eus., *Vita Const.* XXII, Theoph. 14,1–3, Georg. Mon. 487,21 sqq. etc.). Ecl. Hist. 294,9–11, however, connects the story with the war against Licinius, as has been done by our author. Mal. 316,6 ff. lets the miracle take place in a war against barbarians.

36.37–39 This first synod has, of course, been mentioned by many authors on Byzantine History, e. g. Eus. *Vita Const.* III,6 ff., Theoph. 21,12 ff., Georg. Mon. 503,9; 509,3 ff., Ecl. Hist. 295,17 ff., Cedr. I 495,16 ff., Zon. III 20,10 ff.; 22,15 ff. etc. Our author has reduced the information to an utter minimum. The words κτίσμα τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ υἱόν recall Georg. Mon. 504,25–26 where the Arian arguments are quoted in full: κτίσμα γάρ ἐστι καὶ ποίημα ὁ Υἱός κτλ., cf. also *ibid.* 507,21 ff., 509,9–10, Ecl. Hist. 295,24 ff., Cedr. I 501,12 ff. The words, which follow, ἔκ τινων παρακουσμάτων ἑλληνικῶν φλυαρήσαντος probably reflect the story of the Cyprian bishop Syprid(i)on who silenced a philosopher (τις Ἕλλην!) who had got into the Synod and surpassed the fathers by his dialectics. See Georg. Mon. 505,17 ff., Cedr. I 502,9 ff. A similar story with some other connections in Theoph. 23,7 ff., Ecl. Eccl. Hist. ed. Cramer 92,2 ff., Cedr. I 498,18 ff.

36.40 ἐν διηριθμημένοις καιροῖς. This expression, given that the reading is correct (there is hardly any alternative), is unknown to me from elsewhere. The verb διαριθμέω has twice been used by Psellos in his *Chron.* (*Const. IX*, XLIV 4; *Mich. VI*, XXX 2), both times signifying 'enumerate'. Hence I have translated 'on a series of occasions'.

36.41–46 The division of the Roman territory after Constantine's death has been differently indicated in different sources. The elements, as formulated here, can be found in Zon. III 26,12 ff., though Zonaras' account is much more detailed.

The term κληροδοτήσας recalls Eus. *Vita Const.* c. 51 κληροδοτῶν.

36.58—59 ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν, cf. Psellos *Mich. IV*, I, 8 Μιχαήλ, περὶ οὗ φθάσας ὁ λόγος διείληφε, *ibid.* IX, 1 ὡς λόγος φθάσας ἐγνώρισεν, *Const. X*, XIV, 1 ὡς ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν, *Rom. IV*, X, 8 ἣν ὁ λόγος φθάσας ὑπεζωγράφησε, *ibid.* XXXVIII, 4 ὃν φθάσας ὁ λόγος ἐγνώρισε, Anna Comn. II 70,13 ὡς ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν, *ibid.* II 75,1 ὡς ἤδη φθάσας ὁ λόγος ἐδήωσε, *ibid.* II 100,6 ὡς ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν.

36.59—60 The essence of this passage resembles Zon. III 56,7—15.

36.62—64 This passage shows considerable resemblance with Ecl. Hist. 298,27—29, though the chapter as a whole has further little to do with the chapter on Constantius in Ecl. Hist. 297,22 ff. Cf. also Theoph. 35,16—19.

36.64 ἐξανέψιοι. In Ecl. Hist. 299,16 Julian is qualified ἐξάδελφος, Chron. Pasch. I 540,8 speaking of Gallus calls him ἀνεψιόν, cf. Theoph. 40,16, Georg. Mon. 535,5, Glyk. 469,1. Man. 2374 has: Γάλλον, τὸν αὐτοῦ.

38.69 πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἀρχήν. A striking mistake: Gallus was sent to the East, to Antioch (Chron. Pasch. 540,8 ff., Theoph. 40,15 ff., Eutr. *Brev.* X 12,2 etc.).

38.69—70 Some sources stress Gallus' aspiring to the throne (Soz. IV,6, Ecl. Eccl. Hist. ed. Cramer 95,23 ff., Theoph. 41,11 ff., Cedr. I 524,16, Zon. III 45,15, Man. 2375—77), others suggest Gallus was the victim of calumny (Zos. II 55,2 ff.).

38.73 νοσήσας. Constantius' death by a (fever and a) gall disease is mentioned by Zon. III 56,1, Man. 2392, Anon. Sath. 56,17. His disease was also a punishment for evil deeds, such as killing Gallus.

38.76 I have ὑποδημάτων altered into ὑποιδημάτων, though this word is a neologism. The compound ὑποιδέω, however, does occur, albeit that ὑπο- expresses here the same idea as in ὕπουλα, and not as in ὑποιδέω the idea 'somewhat', 'a little bit'. Psellos uses the adjective ὕπουλος 8 times in the *Chronography,* either with the signification 'internal', or metaphorically signifying 'secrete'.

38.81—83 A curious variation on the theme of choice between brother and husband from Soph. *Ant.* 905—912 and Hdt. III,119.

38.85 Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πάνυ, cf. Psellos *Bas. II*, XX 12 βασιλείῳ τῷ πάνυ. The expression comes from Thuc. 8,1, Xen. *Mem.* 3,5,1 and is also used elsewhere by Psellos, but not by Anna Comn.

38.85—89 Ecl. Hist. 299,17—20 and Cedr. I 531,22—532,1 give also a description of Julian, opened by the words ἦν δὲ βραχὺς τὸ σῶμα, but

the other characteristics differ from those given by our author. Another description is to be found in Zon. III 68,13 ff., which shows some resemblance with this passage 38.88 σοφίας ... περιττοτέρας: Zon. III 69,1 ἦν δὲ καὶ παντοδαπῆς σοφίας μετειληχὼς καὶ μάλιστα τῆς περιττοτέρας, ...

It should for the rest be noticed that the setting of this chapter is much less unfavourable for Julian than in most of the Byzantine presentations.

38.1 This saying (with slight variations) has been quoted by several Byzantine authors. The quotation, however, appears in a different connection, see Joh. Antioch. *Archeologia* ed. Cramer 399,27, Ecl. Hist. 300,33, Cedr. I 539,13. Zon. III 72,13 ff. mentions both the story of Iovianus' stepping on Julian's cloak and of Julian's being informed by an oracle of Jovian's succession.

38.2–4 See also Ecl. Hist. 299,18–19 καὶ ὕπνου μὲν καὶ τροφῆς καὶ ἀφροδισίων ὅτι μάλιστα ἐγκρατής, ≈ Cedr. I 531,22–23.

40.8–9 ἐπειδὴ-μισήσαντας. An allusion to the title Μισοπώγων of Julian's speech against the Antiocheans, who spoke fun at the emperor's philosophical beard, see Zon. III 64,1–12.

40.11 κατὰ νώτου τινὶ γενέσθαι: cf. Hdt. I 9,3; 10,2 etc. Psellos *Const. IX*, CXIII 14; *id.* CXIX, 8–9.

40.14–38 (§ 50) The presentation of this chapter resembles mostly Zon. III 70,4 ff.

40.25–26 ἤδη κρατήσαντας. If the tradition of the text is correct, the signification of κρατήσαντας must be absolute: 'get the upper hand' (see LSJ s. v., II). One may, however, suppose that a genitive, governed by κρατήσαντας and indicating a town (e. g. Νισίβεως) or a region (cf. Zos. III 31,4 Ἀρμενίας τὸ πολὺ μέρος) conquered by the Persians, has dropped out.

40.26 τιθέντες: cf. the marginal indications ad Zon. III 70,10: οἵας ὁ Ἰοβιανὸς (βασιλεύσας ἰοβ. E) ἔθετο πρὸς Πέρσας (π. Π. om. E) σπονδάς in the mss. CE (both Monacenses).

40.28 εἰρηκότες, ὡς κτλ. The ellipsis of ἐστι is rather harsh, but not against the rule, see Renauld *Et.* 244. One may, however, image that ἐστι dropped out after ὠθίζεσθαι.

ὠθίζεσθαι = 'struggle', see LSJ s. v. II. Not in Psellos, nor in Anna Comn.

40.34–37 Zon. III 71,10–15 gives also another tradition of Jovian's death: that he was stifled by carbon monoxide, being drunk, see also Cedr. I 540,15–20.

40.37 συγκαταλύει. See a similar sort remark in Psellos *Const. X*, XXV 11–12.

40.38 Zon. III 72,15 says Jovian did not reign more than eight months, Cedr. I 539,15 mentions nine months and a fortnight. Georg. Mon. 548,14, Joel 38,5, Man. 2418 have also eight months, Ecl. Hist. 300,29 agrees with our author: one year, eight months. Most generous is Anon. Sath.: two and a half years, Jovian's reign in reality having lasted seven months, twenty-two days. The number of seven months is given by Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* III, 26.

42.40—41 τὴν μὲν χεῖρα ..., τὴν γνώμην δὲ: a somewhat striking figure. According to Renauld and Böhlig Psellos observes classical rule.

42.48 κατορθόω τι 'bring to a succesful issue' LSJ s. v. 2b; with obj. πολέμους also Psellos *Const.* X, III 11., Anna Comn. I 275,10.

42.49 πλεονεξίαν ἐκ μέσου πεποίηκε allusion to the story of the punishment of the *praepositus* Rhodanus, who had illegally confiscated a widow's fortune and refused to restore it to her (Mal. 340,5 ff., Ecl. Hist. 302,12 ff., Cedr. I 544,5 ff., Zon. III 74,18 ff., Anon. Sath. 59,6 etc.).

42.51 πρεσβεύων 'maintain' ('protect', 'honour') cf. LSJ. s. v. III; cf. also Psellos *Rom. IV*, XIV 6.

42.52—53 ὅτι μὴ γινώσκοι μὴ μαθήματος μηδὲ εἰδείη ... φιλοσοφεῖν: the construction puzzles the reader. There are at least two problems: the sequence μὴ ... μὴ ... μηδὲ, and the *gen. partit.* with γινώσκοι. To tackle the last problem first: Kühner-Gerth, *Gr. Gramm.* § 417, II, 1 p. 361 Anm. 10 b mentions among several groups of verbs also the group of 'perceive', 'learn', 'understand' that can be connected with the *gen. partit.*, such as ἀκούειν, αἰσθάνομαι but also γιγνώσκειν, for which is referred to Hom. φ 36, ψ 109. Böhlig *Unters.* 128, 129 cites also five groups of verbs and expressions that allow a *gen. partit.*; γινώσκειν, however, is lacking in the series. The sequence is μὴ ... μὴ ... μηδὲ, of which the second μὴ repeats the first one, is also uncommon, indeed.

I have thought of several possible conjectures, e. g. ὅτι μὴ γινώσκοι τι μαθήματος μηδὲ or ὅτι μὴ γινώσκοι μηδὲν (τοῦ?) μαθήματος, which would solve the problem of the genitive, but τι μαθήματος and μηδὲν μαθήματος/μηδὲν τοῦ μαθήματος are just as uncommon as the construction in the text because the partitives are usually applied in the plural and accompanied by the article.

Acceptable would be, perhaps, ὅτι μὴ γινώσκοι μή τι μαθήματος κτλ. On the other hand, the alliteration μη-μη-μα-μα-μη seems to be not fortuitous. (On alliteration in classical texts, see e. g. J. D. Denniston, *Greek Prose Style* 126 ff.). If so, interference in the text is the more precarious. I have therefore renounced interfering and maintained the text as it stands.

42.54 The story of Valentinian's taking his brother Valens as co-emperor because he trusted a related man more than the best one, is more fully told by Ecl. Hist. 301,32 ff., Cedr. 541,11 ff. See also Zos. IV, 1,4 ff.

42.57—58 Against all other sources our author makes Valens rule the western, Valentinian the eastern part of the empire. The formulation recalls Zon. III 73,16 ff. οὗτος κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείας Οὐάλεντα … προσελάβετο καὶ τὴν ἑῴαν μοῖραν αὐτῷ πιστεύσας αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἑσπερίοις διέτριβε … One may suppose that the words ἑῴαν and ἑσπέραν, being abbreviated in a previous copy were misread, consequently, changed places.
It should be noticed that Psellos *Bas. II*, XXII 20—21 writes τάς τε ἑῴ*ους* ἡμῖν λήξεις καὶ τὰς ἑσπερί*ους* …, though he also uses these terms as three-ending adjectives.

42.59—60 The author's own remark, that the town mentioned is situated facing Byzantium, makes clear that Chalcedon is meant, not Carthage. The common spelling is Χαλκηδών, but some authors, e. g. Ecl. Hist. 302,22, Georg. Mon. 611,19; 20; 638,18 (mss. (A) B (D) V), write Καλχηδών. The notation -ρχ- instead of -λχ- bears the character of the λ/ρ change in modern Greek, ἀδερφός/ἀδελφός. The ms. has, however, the same spelling in 64.39, where probably, but not doubtlessly, Chalcedon is mentioned again.

42.60 I have written the regular form ἵδρυτο instead of ἵδρυστο of the ms., because it seems improbable that the author used indeed a 'vulgar' form like this one of a well-known verb, though one could imagine that the form has been generated from an analogy with verbs in -ίζω plqpf. 3. sing. -ιστο. There is also a plqpf. in Psellos (Sathas *Bibl. Gr.* V 47,13), γέγευστο, with parasitical σ (Renauld, *Et.* 31), whereas in Hippocr. *Epist.* 9,396 (Lit.) the participle ἐνιδρυσμένος has been transmitted (W. Veitch, *Greek Verbs, irregular and defective*, Oxf. 1887, s. v. ἱδρύω). The exemplary historians, such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Dio Cassius etc. use, however, without exception perf./plqpf. forms such as ἵδρυται, ἵδρυτο.

42.60—61 Πρέσβευσι … χρηματίζων, cf. Plb. 3,66,6 χρηματίζω πρεσβευταῖσι, Dio Cass. 43,27 etc. The accentuation πρέσβευσι is against classic rule: πρεσβεῦσι or πρέσβεσι.

42.60—64 This story of Valentinian's death is more fully told by Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* IV 30, Soz. VI 35, Nicephor. Call. 11,33, Amm. Marc. XXX 6,1—4.

42.64—65 The quotation has been made a device by our author. It belongs, however, to the story that Valentinian refused help to his brother Valens, who ran into trouble fighting the Goths. See Theodor. *Hist. Eccl.* IV 38 (οὐχ ὅσιον ἐπαμύνειν ἀνδρὶ πολεμοῦντι θεῷ!), Theoph. 61,21—23

and the passages cited in the *app. loc.* Zon. III 83,3 ascribes the saying to Gratian, Valentinian's son, using the argument against his uncle. A similar story demonstrating Valens' godless behaviour is given by Theoph. 62,10–14; 65,9–13, Ecl. Eccl. Hist. ed. Cramer 97,14–16, Cedr. I 549,5 etc.

42.68–69 This kind of cannibalism took place during the reign of Julian the Apostate according to Cedr. I 533,6 ff.

42.71–44.72 καινάς τινας ... τιμωρίας. Some specimina can be found in Ecl. Hist. 303,18 ff. Well-known, too, is the story that Valens had everybody killed whose name began with the letter(s) Θ(εοδ)-, e. g. Vide et Zos. IV 13,5 ff., Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* IV 18, Soz. VI, 35, 2–7, Ecl. Hist. 303,27–28, Theoph. 62,14–16, etc.

44.75 ἐπινυστάζω 'to drop asleep over', see LSJ s. v., *c. dat.* in Plut. *Brut.* 36,2. Not elsewhere in Psellos, but three times in Anna Comn.: II 144,9 also *c. dat.*, II 144,13, II 206,4 (abs.), II 210,3 with περὶ *c. acc.* For a similar simile see Man. 3892: ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκάμμυε τὸ βλέφαρον τῆς δίκης, ἀλλ' ἐπεντράνισεν ὀρθῶς, ...

44.76 ff. Several sources mention the violent death of Valens, in the first place Theodor. *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 31, Zos. IV 24,4. Some of them speak about Valens' battle against the Goths, other use the 'classic' name Scythians. Thus Theodor. *l. c.*, Theoph. 65,17, Ecl. Eccl. Hist. ed. Cramer 97,18, Glyk. 473,5 have Goths, Ecl. Hist. 303,13, Zon. III 78,16 ff. Scythians (cf. also Zos. IV 17,3). Without furnishing a literal resemblance with the latter two, the text of our author shows clear relation with both Ecl. Hist. 303,13–16 and Zon. *l. c.*: φεύγων ἐν οἰκήματι κατεκρύφθη· παρ' ᾧ ἀχυρώδης σεσώρευτο συρφετός.

44.80 ἔβαλλον. Though this impf. is rather striking beside the aor. ὑφῆψαν I have maintained the reading of the ms. on the ground of the following considerations: a) Psellos himself does not use the aor. ἔβαλον etc. in the *Chron.*, b) in the style of Psellos (as of other Byzantine authors) the juxtaposition of impf./aor. is not uncommon (Böhlig, *Unters.* 227, cf. Renauld, *Et.* 103), c) the impf. ἔβαλλον can very well have a distributive connotation.

44.85 The reading καὶ γενεώτερα κολαστηρίων ἤδη of the ms. fields an impossible text. There are, however, some passages which offer a point of reference for this passage e. g. the story of the eighty pious negotiators who were burnt together with their ship (Socr. *Hist. Eccl.* IV 15 ὁ δὲ τρόπος τοῦ θανάτου [ξένος] τις ἦν). Socr. *ibid.* IV 16 says that Valens not only expelled the orthodox from their churches but submitted them also to different trials: ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφόροις κολαστηρίοις (!) ὑπέβαλεν (sc.

αὐτοὺς τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους). If one adopts the correction ἤδη → εἴδη (I owe this suggestion to Prof. A. Kambyles) the correction καί γε νεώτερα is "plain sailing".

For other references see Ecl. Hist. 303,18–20 πολλὰ δὲ δεινὰ Οὐάλης κατὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων εἰργάσατο, ἐμπρησμοὺς θαλαττίους σὺν αὐταῖς νηυσί, καὶ πνιγμοὺς ἐν ὕδατι, καὶ βασάνους (!) ἄλλας πολλάς, Zon. III 75,19 ff., Joel 38,17–19, etc.

44.90 κτίσμα, see *ad* p. 36,37–39; cf. also Zon. III 85,9.

44.92–93 With a glance at 2 Petr. 3,10 and 12.

44.7 εὐμηχάνως: cf. Theoph. 67,30 Γρατιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνῃρέθη δόλῳ Ἀνδραγαθίου = Zon. III 84,15 ἀνῃρέθη δόλῳ ὑπὸ Ἀνδραγαθίου. Zonaras does not mention the revolt of Maximus, our author leaves unmentioned that the murder was perpetrated by Andragathios, who had passed himself off as Gratian's wife coming from Britain. As could be expected Zos. IV 35,11–12 gives a less romantic story: Andragathios pursued and killed Gratian.

46.17–21 The second oecumenical synod is mentioned, of course, by many ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical authors: Theodor. *Hist. Eccl.* V 8, Soz. VIII 7,10 and 11, Theoph. 68,21 ff., Georg. Mon. 578,8 ff., Zon. III 90,8 ff., Glyk. 476,10 ff., Anon. Sath. 63,13 ff. The combination of Macedonius, Sabellius and Apollinaris can also be found in Georg. Mon. and Anon. Sath. *ll. cc.*, but in different wordings.

46.21–22 It is clear that the remark on the division of the empire between Arcadius and Honorius has got out of place. On the fact see Theoph. 74,15 ff., Ecl. Hist. 305,18–20, Cedr. I 573,20–23, Zon. III 93,15 ff.

46.25 ἐγχειρίζει τοὺς οἴακας cf. Psellos *Const. VIII* I 5 τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐγχειρίζει τοὺς οἴακας, and also Man. 2472 Ἀρκάδιος χειρίζεται τοὺς οἴακας τῆς ἕω.

46.26 λιμέσιν ἀκλύστοις: cf. Diod. Sic. 3,44.

46.36 Note the pun κεκινηκώς – νενικηκώς, not used elsewhere in either Psellos or Anna Comn.

τὸ περιόν = 'superiority', 'surplus', see also e. g. Psellos *Const. IX*, CLXXV 7, *Mich. VI*, XXXIV 21, *Is. Comn.* LXII 12, LXXXVIII 1, XCI 5, *Eudok.* I 11, *Mich. VI*, III 7: always τοσοῦτον (ἦν/ἐστί τινι) τὸ περιόν.

46.43–44 On Isdigerdes' guardianship of Arcadius' son, the young Theodosius, see Proc. *Bell. Pers.* I 2,7–11, Agath. IV 26,3 Theoph. 80,10, Cedr. I 576,12, Nicephor. Call. 14,1, Zon. III 100,12, Mich. Syr. p. 165 (= VIII cap. 1, tome II pag. 2 Chabot), Bar-Hebr. p. 69, (transl. W. Budge

p. 66). See also Bury LRE I 304, O. Veh *Prokop (III), Perserkriege*, Erläut. p. 458.

48.46—47 It is not easy to see how the acc. Ὀνώριον has got into the text. It might be a gloss on εἴ τις … βουλεύοιτο, e. g. Ὀνώριον (λέγει).

48.48—49 The nexus with ἔνθεν τοι chiefly refers to κυμαινομένης … τῆς ἀρχῆς (46.43—44).

48.50 ἀριθμούς κτλ. It seems that this information is based on a misinterpretation of stories such as told in Mal. 349,5, Theoph. 75,15 and Cedr. I 574,12 that Arcadius formed an ἴδιον ἀριθμόν (a special number or group), which he called Ἀρκαδιακοί.

48.52 δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν, the same number as in Ecl. Hist. 306,31. Mal. 349,1 gives twenty-three. In fact Arcadius reigned 394—408 (fourteen years, as given by Theoph. 74,20, Cedr. I 574,5; Georg. Mon. 592,22: thirteen), being co-emperor from 383.

48.56 For ὅπως ἄν + opt., see Renauld *Et.* 299—300.

48.57 I have corrected this form because a verb ἐπιπραγματεύομαι does not exist in Greek. Besides, the preposition ἐπι- is senseless.

48.57—65 This story is told in detail in Ecl. Hist. 309,8—21, shortly repeated by Cedr. I 599,6—13. Theoph. 145,21 does mention this Aerobindus, but leaves the story out.

48.63 στοιχεῖ: see LSJ. s. v. II.

48.64 ἀνακωχή, instead of ἀνοκωχή, also in Psellos *Is. Comn.* LXXV 11, Anna Comn. II 169,18; 369,15.

48.68—69 πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς βρύοντι, cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 966 ἀλλ' ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθοῖσι βρύοις, δῖε Πελασγῶν.

48.69—74 I believe that the idea of 'τρισάγιον' is indispensable for a clear understanding of the text. The story is told by many authors, though not always in the same context. See Theoph. 93,5—20, Georg. Mon. 605,2 ff., Ecl. Hist. 310,7—12, Zon. III 112,13—18, Anon. Sath. 75,21—31, Man. 2746—2753.

48.70 μικρὸν is adverbial, cf. μετέωρον (Ecl. Hist. *l. c.*), ἐναέριον (Zonaras *l. c.*), but might be corrupted from μέχρι(ς), cf. Man. 2749.

48.74—77 A less favourable qualification of Theodosius II is given by e. g. Zos. IV 50,4, Ecl. Hist. 310,13, Cedr. I 587,7, Zon. III 112,4—12, Glyk. 486,2—6. See also Manasses' rather full description (2702 ff.).

48.78—50.83 On the fourth synod see e. g. Evagr. II,4. But here the controversies of both the third and fourth synods are combined, whereas in Ecl. Hist. 311,11 ff. and Cedr. I 604,16 ff. the difference has been

neglected. A weak echo of the formulas has been preserved in our author's text: 1. ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχέσιν cf. Georg. Mon. 605,19 ff. καὶ ἄλλον μὲν εἶναι τὸν λόγον ..., ὕστερον δὲ τὸν ἐκ Μαρίας τεχθέντα ἄνθρωπον, κατὰ σχέσιν δὲ ἑνωθέντα τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ, ... = Cedr. I 594,16 ff.; 2. ⟨ἑτεροούσιον (?)⟩ τὴν σάρκα τούτῳ φαντάζουσι, cf. Zon. III 115,16–17 ἑτεροούσιον ἡμῖν τὴν σάρκα τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν φορέσαι μυθολογούντων, Ecl. Hist. *l. c.* ὡς ἐν φαντασίᾳ τὴν σάρκα τὸν κύριον κατομολογούντων (Georg. Mon. 612,11, Cedr. I 604,21–22 μυθολογούντων), cf. also Glyk. 488,5, Chron. Epit. (ed. Pusch) 27,26–28,9, Anon. Sath. 81,7. Theoph. 105,21 ff. shows no resemblance.

50.80 Χαλκηδόνι. Note that our author uses here the common spelling (against Ecl. Hist., Georg. Mon. *ll. cc.* (mss. BDV): Καλχ-).

50.83–85 This story can be found, with some variations, in many authors: Evagr. 37,20 ff., Proc. *Bella (Vand.)* III 4,5, Theoph. 104,1 ff., Ecl. Hist. 311,24 ff., Scyl. 112,60 ff., Cedr. I 603,11 ff., Zon. III 113,10 ff., Glyk. 487,9 ff., Man. 2795 ff., Anon. Sath. 79,17 ff. The story may be told by Priscus, according to O. Veh. *Prokop IV* p. 395, *ad* Proc. III 4,5.

50.89 ἐπιχειλῆ. I have chosen this solution of the problematic ἐπὶ χείλη, because, according to Psellos' use of language, ἐπὶ should be constructed with a dat. or gen. A solution based on an itacistic consideration: ἐπὶ χείλει, is not attractive because of the singular. Ἐπὶ χείλεσι > ἐπὶ χείλει > ἐπὶ χείλη requires the assumption of a double corruption. For the use of ἐπιχειλής signifying 'on the lips' see LSJ s. v. I. The only passage, however, where Psellos uses the word (*Const. X*, III 7) shows the signification 'to the brim'.

50.91–8 (§ 66) It is noteworthy that here every resemblance with the corresponding chapter in Ecl. Hist. 312–314 is lacking. The same holds good for Proc., Theoph., Georg. Mon., Cedr.

50.94–95 καὶ γεννᾷ μὲν εὐθὺς Ζήνωνα: a crass mistake for a historian! Zeno was Leo's son-in-law.

50.6–7 Neither ἀλαμπής nor ἀνοίκτιστος is found elsewhere in Psellos or Anna Comn.

50.8 ιη'. The number corresponds to Ecl. Hist. 312,10. The text seldom gives the numbers in letters.

50.9–52.19 (§ 67) A rather ample chapter in comparison with the generally short remarks on Leo the younger in the other authors.

52.17 δεκάζειν 'bribe', see also Psellos *Const. IX*, CLXI 24 δεκάζειν τοὺς λόγους 'pervert the truth' (Sewter), Anna Comn. II 289,21 τις ... δεδεκασμένην εἴποι τῇ φύσει τὴν γλῶτταν.

52.20 Ecl. Hist. 314,14 ff. and Cedr. I 615,13–17 impute Zeno's ugliness to the fact that he was an Isaurian, a tribe descending from Esau!

His adherence to the heresy of the socalled Acephals is also mentioned by Ecl. Hist. 315,10–11, Cedr. I 615,8–9.

52.24 δίκορος because of his differently coloured pupils, see lines 31–33 and Zon. III 133,10–12, Glyk. 491,11–12, Man. 3010–11; less clear in Ecl. Hist. 316,1, Cedr. I 625,23–25.

52.26–30 Zon. also mentions the tradition that Zeno died of an illness (dysentery: Georg. Mon. 617,18, Ecl. Hist. 315,10; epilepsy: Theoph. 135,31, and probably, Cedr. I 622,8). Cedr. tells here that it was Zeno, who, enclosed in his coffin, ate his own limbs (elsewhere, e. g. Glyk. 492,6, of Anastasius, Ecl. Hist. 317,11 ff., of the patriarch Timotheus. See also Aerts in BSlav. XLII (1981) p. 15 Ἐκ τοῦ χρονικοῦ ad § 4).

52.33–35 The text of the ms. is untenable. One may think of the single emendation: κατὰ > καὶ τὰ, but in that case, there remains a harsh anacolouthon. The main objection is, however, the fact that the words τὰ μὲν εἰς λόγους function as a subject, which seems hardly probable in the light of the sequence τὰ πρῶτα λογίων, that is suggesting a masculine subject in correspondence with (τῶν) λογίων. I have, therefore, made a further adaptation of the construction. For the construction ἦν ... τὰ πρῶτα cf. e. g. Psellos *Const. IX* CLXXVIII, 5; see also *Is. Comn.* LXXIX,3. A conjecture γέγονε(ν) ὅτι ἦν [κα] τὰ μὲν κτλ. has some paleographical attractiveness, but whould require an interpretation of "because" for ὅτι, with a weird form of causality.

52.36 Σεβήρου. This name is also mentioned by Ecl. Hist. 316,12 Cedr. I 631,10 and Anon. Sath. 90,20 and likewise in connection with a new attempt to get the formula 'ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς' introduced in het *Trisagion* (cf. 52.43–44). Zon. III 138,12, Man. 3017, name the heresy of Eutyches.

52.36–43 A very interesting passage, not only because of the clear resemblance with Zon. III 138,2 ff., but also because of the personal remark of the author, which, perhaps, can be helpful for his identification. Psellos' acquaintance with the works of Proclos is well-known (cf. Psellos *Const. IX*, XXXVIII and H. Hunger, *Hochsprachl. prof. Lit. Byz.* I 20,21, etc.). But that it was not his monopoly is demonstrated by Anna Comn. writing on Italos I 262,18 ff. It is striking, however, that an – if not fully mistaken then at least very careless – dating is given for this philosopher, who was already six years dead (485) before Anastasius' ascending to the throne (491). There even rises the suspicion that in this dating a confusing of the philosopher with Proclos, the interpreter of dreams who fortells Anastasius' death (cf. Chron. Pasch. I 611,5, Theoph. 164,6, Cedr. I 636,5) is at

work. Even if the source, as it appears, must be held responsible, one can hardly believe that Psellos would have copied such an error without notice.

52.42–43 ἐκκεραυνόω, see also Zon. III 138,8 ἐκκεραυνοῦσθαι, not in LSJ, neither elsewhere in Psellos or Anna Comn.

52.43–44 See *ad* 52.36.

52.45 τοῦτον. According to Zon. III 138,17–18 not the emperor but the persons who recited the objectionable formula risked lynching, cf. also Georg. Mon. 620,6 ff., Man. 3033.

52.46 ἀποδύεται etc., see also Ecl. Hist. 316,23, Cedr. I 631,21.

52.50–52 For this story see Mal. 408,12 ff., Chron. Pasch. 610,10 ff. (the punishment here because of his avarice), Theoph. 163,31 ff., Ecl. Hist. 317,1 ff., Cedr. I 635,21 ff., Zon. III 143,5 ff., Man. 3039 ff., Joel 43,14, Anon. Sath. 91,3 ff.
The term ἐξεκόπησαν found again in Man. 3047 (θεὸς)/ἐκκόπτων ὑπεξέκοψε τὸν δρόμον τῆς ζωῆς σου ..., while all the other presentations have the verb ἀπαλείφω.

52.52 πρὸς τοῖς τρισὶ δέκα. Only Joel 43,14 shares this false opinion. The other sources give the correct number: twenty-seven years. The difference agrees with the number of 14 years by which Anastasius' life should be shortened.

54.54 πανηγύρεις. Ecl. Hist. 319,3–4, Cedr. I 641,19–21 mention the institution of the ecclesiastical feast of ὑπαπαντή (= Candlemas). Georg. Mon. 627,8–10 places the institution of this feast under the reign of Justinian I.

54.56–59 These earthquakes are reported by many authors: Mal. 419,5 ff., Proc. II 14,6, Theoph. 172,11 ff., Ecl. Hist. 319,9 ff., Cedr. I 640,10 ff., Glyk. 493,22 ff., Zon. III 143,17 ff., Georg. Mon. 626,7 ff.

54.59–60 On this woman, see also Mal. 412,4 ff., Theoph. 171,29–32, Georg. Mon. 626,19, Ecl. Hist. 319,15–19, Cedr. I 640,5–8, Zon. III 149,16–150,7, Glyk. 494,4–6.

54.61–63 About the river Skirtos see also Mal. 418,8 ff., Theoph. 171,18 ff., Ecl. Hist. 319,30 ff., Cedr. I 639,21 ff., Zon. III 149,4–13. All cite the same inscription.

54.63 δυστυχῶς: Zon. 150,17 says Justinus was wounded in the thigh, cf. Chron. Pasch. I 617,6 ff.

54.65–56.9 (§ 71) The composition of this chapter differs clearly from the other descriptions of the reign of Justinian. The antithetical structure finds a weak echo in Zon. III 151,14 ff., but as to the contents the

resemblance is small. The facts seem mainly based on the works of Procopius.

54.65 χρῆμα: cf. Psellos *Theod.* I,6, *Is. Comn.* LXXIX 2 etc., Anna Comn. I 71,2, an expression, the popularity of which should hardly be expected after Hdt. I 36,1 ὑὸς χρῆμα.

54.72—73 See e. g. Evagr. 161,24 ff., Theoph. 217,4—7, Ecl. Eccl. Hist. ed. Cramer 112,32; 321,13, Cedr. I 651,1 ff.; 659,23 ff., Glyk. 504,3 ff., Zon. III 167,10 ff., Georg. Mon. 629,1 ff. gives a very ample account of the fifth synod (against e. g. Origenes and Theodore of Mopsuestia), but he says nothing about Severus.

54.74—77 The combination ἐκτέμνειν and κάλαμον ἐμβάλλειν is found also in Ecl. Hist. 322,16—19, Cedr. I 645,17—21; Georg. Mon. 645,2 ff. has καυλοτομεῖσθαι and καλάμους ἐμβάλλεσθαι. Georg. Mon. shows a favourite opinion about Justinian's measures. Zon. III 158,17 mentions the ectome and the motivation as given at 56.2—4. See further Proc. *Anecd.* 11,34—37, Mal. 436,3 ff., Theoph. 177,11 ff., Nov. 77 and 141, Niceph. Call. 17, 32.

54.77—80 A very laconic way to dispatch the Nika-riot.

54.80—82 See also Evagr. 190,1 ff., Zon. III 173,8 ff., Glyk. 505,17 ff.

54.83 τοῦ δόγματος τὴν διαφοράν. I have translated 'contrary to the dogma', though I have some suspicion about the construction. Perhaps the reading should be τοῦ δόγματος τὴν διαφθοράν: '(as) a corruption of the dogma' with a play of words διαφθοράν/ἄφθαρτον.

54.87 τὰ δὲ ... βλάσφημα. This wording may be an echo of Proc. *Anecd.* 12,27 καίπερ ἐς τὰ ἀφροδίσια δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακώς (ὁ Ἰουστινιανός sc.), or of Zon. III 151,13 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἧττον τοῦ κρατοῦντος, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἡ κοινωνὸς αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου δεδύνητο (sc. ἡ Θεοδώρα).

56.89 ὁ κίων. On this column, see e. g. Proc. *Aed.* I,2,1 ff., Mal. 482,14 ff., Theoph. 224,13 ff., Ecl. Hist. 322,24 ff., Cedr. I 656,18 ff., Zon. III 157,8 ff.

For the spelling τοῦ Αὐγουστίωνος see Cedr. *l. c.,* Zon. *l. c.,* title in mss. ACE.

56.12—13 Theoph. 241,30, Ecl. Hist. 324,23, Anon. Sath. 101,14 indicate that Justin II especially embellished churches, built by Justinian.

56.13 Εἰρηνικός: see Bury LRE II 72, and note 3 referring to John of Ephesus III,1.

56.14—16 These lines must refer to stories like Ecl. Hist. 325,16 ff., Cedr. I 680,21 ff., Zon. III 175,7 ff., Anon. Sath. 101,26—103,18.

56,17 Ecl. Hist. 325,11–12 mentions Narses under the reign of Justin II, but only because of his special relation with the emperor, his expedition to Alexandria, and his building a church (τὰ Ναρσοῦ), cf. Theoph. 243,31, Cedr. I 684,7.

56.24–58.34 These apophthegms are reminiscence of the moralistic speech spoken by Justin to the future emperor Tiberios, see Theoph. 248,14 ff., Ecl. Hist. 326,23 ff., Cedr. I 605,19 ff., Zon. III 178,6 ff., Anon. Sath. 103,24 ff. Some other utterances of Justin at that occasion in Evagr. 208,26 ff. A very ample description in Man. 3305 ff.

58.29 σήρ: not in Psellos (once σηρικός: *Mich. V*, XVI 9) and Anna Comn.

58.30 φρενιτιάω: see also Psellos *Scr. Min.* I 230, v. 268.

58.36–40 The presentation of this story is rather different from the common account, that it was Sophia's initiative that brought Tiberius to the throne: very clearly in Evagr. 208,21: ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ Καίσαρα Τιβέριον βουλεύμασι Σοφίας Ἰουστῖνος ἀναγορεύει, ... See further Theoph. 249,24 ff., Ecl. Hist. 328,1 ff., Cedr. I 688,8 ff., Zon. III 179,1 ff., Man. 3478,79, Anon. Sath. 104,23–25 mention only the reverence showed by Tiberius to Sophia.

58.37–38 εἰ πείσει ... ἀλλάξαιτο. For similar use of the moods, see Renauld, *Et.* 264.

58.40 ψέξειε. For potentials without ἄν, see Renauld, *Et.* 119 ff.

58.42 ἄφθονος-ἀνεπίφθονος: both used in unusual signification: for ἄφθονος see Hdt. III, 80,4, for ἀνεπίφθονος cf. ἀνεπιφθόνως Thuc. 6,54 'so as not to create odium' (LSJ s. v.).

58.43 γάννυμαι also in Psellos *Mich. V*, XI 6, Anna Comn. II 363,13.

58.43–44 ἐσεμνύνετο: see e. g. Psellos *Is. Comn.* LXXXVI,3: ὁ μὲν γὰρ σεμνυνέσθω πολλοῖς καὶ καλοῖς κατορθώμασι, ... Not in Anna Comn.

58.47 πέντε. The same number (only) in Ecl. Hist. 327,28; Georg. Mon. 656,12, Cedr. I 688,4, Chron. Epit. (Pusch) 29,8, Man. 3495, Anon. Sath. 104,18 have four years, Theoph. 252,13 and Zon. III 182,17 give three years, ten months, eight days.

58.48–63 Theophyl. Sim. I 1,15 reproduces a speech of Tiberius to Mauricius appointed to be his successor. Some of its remarks show a resemblance with the contents of these apophthegms, so e. g. 49–50 with Theoph. I 1,6: οἷς γὰρ ἀφθονία τῆς ἐξουσίας, τούτοις εἰκὸς καὶ τὰ σφάλματα παρέπεσθαι πλείονα.

58.49 ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα: cf. Demosth. 18,191 ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι.

58.51 For the expression πέρα τοῦ μετρίου, see Plato *Tim.* 65 d, Agath. IV 29,9 (= 161,20 Ke.).

58.55—56 Cf. Plut. 2,467 c τὴν τύχην δεξιὰν παρισταμένην ἐπαριστέραν λαμβάνειν.

60.64—76 None of the historians cites any of these apophthegms.

60.78 All authors mention Mauricius' avarice, e. g. Theophyl. Sim. VIII 7,2.

60.80 ff. For this story see Theoph. 278,32 ff., Georg. Mon. 658,18 ff., Ecl. Hist. 329,22 ff., Zon. III 192,2 ff.

In Cedr. I 699,24—700,12 and in the presentation of Theophyl. Sim. VII 13,1 ff. the detail that Mauricius himself had caused the captivity of his soldiers because of their insubordination is lacking. Likewise in Man. 3523—3549, Anon. Sath. 105,25 ff. In the mss. P and V of Chron. Pasch. I 694,16 there is an insertion, beginning with the words Περὶ τεράτων, ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου χρονογράφου. This insertion gives the story in short, but mainly in the wording of Theoph. 278,32 ff. It should be noticed, however, that in the motivation of Mauricius' refusal to pay, both here and in Zon. *l. c.*, the term μνησικακῶν has been used: Chron. Pasch. P/V p. 695: ὁ δὲ μνησικακῶν τῷ ἰδίῳ στρατῷ δοῦναι οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, Zon. III 192,18—193,3: ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ οὕτως τοὺς ἁλόντας ἠθέλησε πρίασθαι, τὸ μέν τι ἐκ φειδωλίας (ἥττητο γὰρ χρημάτων), τὸ δέ τι στρατιώταις μνησικακῶν. The remark on the rebellion of the soldiers seems to derive from Joh. Antioch. frg. 218 b. On the μέγας χρονογράφος see Hunger HPLB I 345 and note 87, where besides Ecl. Hist. *An. Par.* II 111,32—114,31 also this fragment should have been mentioned. The existence of this otherwise unknown Great Chronograph is very doubtful.

60.84 ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθένα: one of the very few distinctly 'vulgar' forms in this Short History. Not only is the pronoun itself 'vulgar', cf. ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ in the parallels Zon. III 192,16, Anon. Sath. 105,27, εἰς ἕκαστον Zon III 192,18, but also the gen. καθένα instead of καθενός. The form is more striking because it occurs neither in Psellos nor in Anna Comnena. It is not even mentioned in Renauld, *Et.* or in Böhlig, *Unters.*

60.87 The number 12.000 also in Georg. Mon., Ecl. Hist., Cedr., Man. *ll. cc.* in note *ad* 60.80 ff.

60.88—62.6 For the story of Mauricius' death, see Theoph. 284,21—286,8; 289,31—290,12, Georg. Mon. 662,15 ff.; Man. 3597—3610, Ecl. Hist. 330,12—331,7; 332,12—21, Cedr. I 703,22—705,12; 706,19—707,8, Zon. III 194,1—195,10; 196,19—197,10. A factual account of the murder of Mauricius by Phokas also in Theophyl. Sim. VIII 11,1—6. The story of Mauricius' death is also known in Westeuropean sources;

there he is guilty of having persecuted pope Gregorius I, see Gottfried of Viterbo, Monum. Germ. Historica, Scriptores 22, p. 194, 34 ff.

60.91–93 The notions ἐν ποίῳ καιρῷ and ἐν τῷ παρόντι become clear if compared with Georg. Mon. 660,5 ff.: ποῦ θέλεις, ὦ Μαυρίκιε, ἀποδώσω σοι ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι and Zon. III 194,14–17: ... ὅποι βούλεται τὴν ἔκτισιν ἀποδοῦναι ... ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἢ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. τὸν δὲ "ἐνταῦθα" φάναι "φιλάνθρωπε δέσποτα" καὶ ἀκοῦσαι φωνῆς λεγούσης "παράδοτε οὖν αὐτὸν παγγενῆ (probably better παγγενεί, see LSJ, though Byzantine authors more often have παγγενῆ, cp. Theodorus Prodromos, ed. W. Hörandner, Index) Φωκᾷ τῷ στρατιώτῃ".

60.94 The qualifications in the stories quoted above are θρασὺς καὶ δειλός.

62.10–13 See Georg. Mon. 664,16 ff., Ecl. Hist. 330,20–26, Cedr. I 709,3–9.

62.24 διενήνοχεν. Psellos has once διενηνόχει (*Mich. VII*, III 3), see Renauld, *Et.* 45.

62.27 κατὰ τοὺς ἐμοὺς τρόπους. What that implies, can be distilled from Man. 3616: ἦν γὰρ τοὺς τρόπους φονικός, ὑγρόβιος, λυσσώδης, / ἀκρατοπότης, πάροινος, ἀκρόχολος, οἰνόφλυξ. On the difference between a βασιλεύς and a τύραννος and the distinction νόμος — τρόπος see Synesios *Or. de Regno* I 6 A: Βασιλέως μέν ἐστι τρόπος ὁ νόμος, τυράννου δὲ ὁ τρόπος νόμος. Cf. also Ps.-Isokr. *Ad Demonicum* 11 and 36 quoted in Hunger, HPLB I 158.

62.34 ἐπὶ δάκρυσι. For this use cf. Renauld, *Et.* 176 ἐπὶ βλάβῃ 'en vue de la ruine'.

64.39 Καλχηδόνος. Here too I have corrected Καρχηδόνος into Καλχηδόνος. My considerations are as follows: 1. The passage shows the greatest similarity to Ecl. Hist. 335,14, who has Καλχηδόνος: 2. our author is obviously talking about two campaigns, one towards Egypt, the other via Syria and Cappadocia to the west, resulting in the conquest of Chalcedon. This also constitutes the difference with Cedr. I 715,18–20 where, indeed, a failed siege of Carthage is mentioned: τὴν δὲ Καρχηδόνα μὴ δυνηθέντες παραλαβεῖν, πολιορκητὰς ἐάσαντες, ἀνέχωρησαν. But there this fact is placed in the context of the Egyptian campaign.

In Theoph. 301,12 and 15 there is an even more complicated situation. De Boor had adopted both times Καρχηδ- in his text, where the mss. read Χαλκηδ- (ms. g Καλχηδ-). The Latin translation/adaptation of Anastasius also has *Kartaginem*. It is, however, open to question whether in both cases the same expedition is meant, or whether in the first case, indeed, an expedition to Carthage took place, but in the second case (or in both cases) the conquest of Chalcedon is being referred to.

One of the sources the most relied on for the history of Heraclius, Chron. Pasch. 701,11 ff., deals undeniably with the conquest of Chalcedon (706,12). So also Man. 3750, Georg. Mon. 668,15. See also Bury LRE II 216, A. N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the VII^th^ century* I,115.

64.43 ἀπόφημά τινα: Heraclius had to abjure Christ and worship the fire: Ecl. Hist. 335,16–17, Cedr. I 716,3–5, Theoph. 301,23–24, Zon. III 205,12–15.

64.51 πλῷ χρῆσθαι: see e. g. Thuc. III 315, Psellos *Mich. VI*, XXI 12, *Is. Comn.* LXXX 7. That such a connection should govern a direct object is improbable, though χρῆσθαι alone can be construed with the acc. in later Greek, see LSJ s. v. VI. Hence I have adopted the text of Ecl. Hist./Cedr. for an emendation.

64.56 ff. The internal troubles in the Persian dynasty are described in Theoph. 325,15 ff., cf. Zon. III 211,1 ff. See also Chron. Pasch. I 728,12 ff.

64.60 ὃν ἐβασίλευσεν. For this kind of transitive use of βασιλεύω, see e. g. LXX Judic. 9,6, I Kings 8,22; 12,1. Not in Psellos or Anna Comn.

66.76 τοὺς καλλωπιζομένους. Theoph. 9,19 mentions that Diocletian paid special attention to his appearance. Cf. also Dio Cass. 62,6,3 on Nero: ὄνομα μὲν ⟨γὰρ⟩ ἀνδρὸς ἔχει, ἔργῳ δὲ γυνή ἐστι· σημεῖον δέ, ᾄδει καὶ κιθαρίζει καὶ καλλωπίζεται, and Basil. *Epist.* XXII ed. Loeb p. 134: ὅτι οὐ δεῖ καλλωπίζεσθαι ἐν ἱματίοις ἢ ὑποδήμασιν. See also 72,20. For ἑταιρίστρια see Plato *Symp.* 191 e, Lucian *Dial. Meretr.* 5,2 though with the signification 'Lesbian, homosexual women'. Psellos uses the subst. καλλωπισμός, not the verb. Nor does he use ἑταιρίστρια. None of these words in Anna Comn.

ἀπεικάζω. Psellos uses the verb once in *Rom.* III, II 7, however not with dat. but with ἐς + acc. For the augment, see Renauld, *Et.* 24. Not in Anna Comn.

66.82–94 (§ 77) In the ms. this chapter follows § 86, where it is clearly out of place. On this dislocation see Introduction p. XX.

66.86 νοσήμασι πλείστοις, see Ecl. Hist. 340,7–9 ἦν δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος ἀσθενὴς μὲν τῷ σώματι, καθεκάστην, ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡμέραν νοσηλευόμενος = Cedr. I 753,4.

τις τῶν ἱστορησάντων. This is very interesting. One may ask who this historian may be: the remark is not to be found in Theoph., Georg. Mon., Ecl. Hist., Cedr., Man., Anon. Sath. The fact that alone Zon. III 216,10–12 offers a rather similar text signifies that, unless Zon. himself is the source with the consequence that Psellos (or Italos) cannot be the author of the Ἱστορία Σύντομος, our author and Zonaras draw from an (unknown?) source which they have in common. Bury LRE II 283 speaking about

Constantine's orthodoxy quotes no other reference than Zon. *l. c.*! Nor does Stratos II p. 181. See, however, my remarks on chapter 78 and the question of genuineness of one of the two chapters involved.

66.87 For ἀπηρτισμένος cf. e. g. Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 50 and Psellos *Const. IX*, CLX 1.

66.89 ἡ ἀνεψιά: see Ecl. Hist. 339,27–28 ..., ἕνεκεν τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνεψιὰν Μαρτίναν παρανομωτάτου γάμου. On the murder of Constantine by his step-mother, see Theoph. 331,1–2, 341,13–16, 342,12–14, Ecl. Hist. 340,2–3, Cedr. ± 753,11–13, Glyk. 513,3–5, Man. 3803–06, Anon. Sath. 110,10–12.

66.92 ἀπώνατο: the same terminology at the beginning of the chapter on Constantine in Zon. III 216,6 ...ἡ αὐταρχία ..., ἧς βραχύ τι ἀπώνατο.

66.94 οὐδὲν ἀπόφθεγμα φέρεται, see *app. crit.* 66,82–85 (Man. 3798–3802).

66.95–68.11 (§ 78) On the few sources and the complexity of politics at that time see Bury LRE II p. 281–288, Ostrogorsky-Hussey p. 112–115.

66.2 ἀδελφιδῇ. The ms. reads ἀδελφιδῆς. Perhaps ἀδελφιδίς as a feminine form beside ἀδελφιδός (Theoph.), but LSJ mentions only a form ἀδελφίδισα (sic).

66.4 συγκροτεῖ (γάμον) cf. Ach. Tat. 2,11,1 ὁ πατήρ μοι γάμους συνεκρότει, where, however, the emphasis is more on the organisation. Here 'he organised wedlock with her' > i. e. 'carried wedlock through', 'welded wedlock with her'. Psellos uses the verb only in the sense of bringing together an army (e. g. *Const. IX*, LXXXIII 4 etc.).

66.5 ἐμπομπεύειν, not elsewhere in Psellos, Anna Comn.

66.5–7 On the murder of Constantine, see Theoph. 331,1–2; 341,12–17, Ecl. Hist. 340,2–3, Cedr. I 753,11–13, Glyk. 513,3–5, Zon. III 216,6 Man. 3803–4, Anon. Sath. 110,10–12.

Alone Nicephoros *Brev.* p. 29 lets Constantine die a natural death (see also Bury LRE II 283, note 2, and A. N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the VIIth Century* II 184, 185).

66.7–68.8 Cf. Theoph. 331,3–4, 341,24 ff., Ecl. Hist. 340,20 ff., Cedr. I 753,22 ff., Glyk. 513,8–11, Man. 3810–14, Zon. III 217,3–8, Anon. Sath. 110,13–16.

68.9 Where everyone has Martina's tongue and Heraclonas' nose cut off (as should be expected), our author is contrary.

68.13 ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβούλοις: see young Constans' speech in the Senate in Theoph. 342,10 ff., l. 18: διὸ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς ἔχειν συμβούλους καὶ

γνώμονας τῆς κοινῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων σωτηρίας. Cf. Cedr. I 754,11: ... ὃς παρακλητικοῖς λόγοις πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐχρήσατο ...

68.14—15 On Constans' adherence to the monotheletes see Zon. III 217,14, Ecl. Hist. 341,29 ff., Cedr. I 754,11, Anon. Sath. 110,22. Cf. also Glyk. 516,15—18.

60.24 'θὲς ἄλλῳ τὴν νίκην'. See Theoph. 346,1—7, Georg. Mon. 716,17, Ecl. Hist. 341,19 ff., Cedr. ± 756,4—8, Zon. III 218,15 ff., Glyk. 516,5—8.

68.34 One wonders about the qualifications τὸν φιλόσοφον for this holy Maximus, about whom Theoph. 347,7 writes: τὸν ἅγιον Μάξιμον καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ... οὓς ... τὴν θεόσοφον (!) καὶ πολυμαθεστάτην γλῶσσαν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀπέτεμε μετὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, ... κτλ. Once more 351,19 ... καὶ Μάξιμον τὸν σοφώτατον καὶ ὁμολογητὴν ἐγλωσσοτόμησεν καὶ ἐχειροκόπησε ... Further Georg. Mon. 717,16 ff., Ecl. Hist. 341,29—31, Anon. Sath. 111,2 ff. Is there a confusion with Μάξιμος ὁ φιλόσοφος mentioned in Cedr. I 533,18: Πρόκλος καὶ Μάξιμος οἱ φιλόσοφοι?

68.37 The signification of this apophthegma becomes clear by comparison with Zon. III 221,4. One may question the corrections of the text, in which a comparative idea, like μᾶλλον, is lacking. Such constructions, though seldom, do occur in Psellos, see Renauld, *Et.* 288 (quoting *B. G.* V 196). But perhaps μᾶλλον should be inserted: ἅπαντας ⟨μᾶλλον⟩ or ἅπαντα[ς] ⟨μᾶλλον⟩ or μᾶλλον instead of ἅπαντας. See also 32.70.

68.39—43 Most sources relate the expedition of Constantine IV with the nickname 'pogonatos': Ecl. Hist. 342,15—23, Anon. Sath. 113,14—20, Zon. III 221,17—222,11, Glyk. 517,5 ff., Man. 3850—3860. There are, however, strong arguments for attaching this nickname to Constantine III (or II), cf. E. W. Brooks, *Who was Constantine Pogonatus* in B.Z. 17 (1908), cf. A. N. Stratos III p. 2 ff..

68.42 For ἴουλον ἐξανθῶν see also Psellos *Mich. VII*, III 1 ἄρτι δὲ πρώτως ἀνθοῦντα ἔχων τὸν ἴουλον ...

70.44—45 Here again our author flouts the tradition which says that Constantine had his brothers' noses cut off because they had complotted against him: Ecl. Hist. 342,23—25. In Theoph. 352,14—23 = Cedr. I 764,8—14 ≈ Zon. III 222,12—223,2 magnates from Asia Minor demand the co-emperorship for Constantine's brothers. The instigators are trapped and killed, the brothers denosed. Anon. Sath. 113,21 follows Ecl. Hist., Theoph. 360,18—20 briefly repeats the controversy but apparently from another source: 'in that year Constantine drove his brothers from their (co)emperorship' (τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀπώσατο Κωνσταντῖνος τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας, ...).

Our author seems to combine in a way this passage from Theoph. and Zon. *l. c.* (τὰς ῥῖνας ἀπέτεμεν!).

I fail to see the reason for our author's defying tradition. The original text presumably ran ... ἐπιβουλὴν πλασαμένους κατ' αὐτοῦ.

70.44 For ἐξῶσε see Renauld, *Et.* 23, where ἔξωσε should be, of course, ἐξῶσεν (as in the text Psellos *Const. IX*, CXXXVI 20).

70.45–47 On the facts see Theoph. 353,14–23 < Niceph. *Brev.* p. 32, Ecl. Hist. 342,26–343,6, Cedr. I 764,21–768,18, Zon. III 223,3–225,11. Ecl. Hist., Cedr. Zon. ascribe the invention of the ὑγρὸν/θαλάσσιον πῦρ to a certain Kallinikos from Heliopolis.

70.47–48 For the facts, see Theoph. 356,18–359,21 < Niceph. *Brev.* p. 33, Georg. Mon. 728,15 ff., Ecl. Hist. 343,22–344,6, Zon. III 226,10–228,6.

70.52 The 'announcement' of Constantine's sayings follows in the ms. only after line 59. The lines 60–62, too, probably originally preceded 53–59. In that case the resemblance with Ecl. Hist. 344,7–11 (cf. *app. crit.*) would be yet more obvious.

70.55–59 The fact is mentioned in Ecl. Hist. 342,18–20, Cedr. I 764,2–4, Zon. III 222,4–8 (cf. *app. crit.*). Inserted in some deterior mss. of Theoph. 352,9 *app. crit.*

70.61 ἀρραγέστερον. As an predicative adjective in Psellos *Is. Comn.* LXX 11 ἀρραγεστέροις αὐτοῖς ἐνετύγχανον. For the signification cf. Anna Comn. I 394,4 τηρεῖν τὰς σπονδάς.

70.62 ἵνὰ μὴ ἐξίτηλον γένηται, cf. Hdt. I proëm., Psellos *Scr. Min.* 156,8–9.

70.64 ἐπισταθμίσειε. The regular verb is ἐπισταθμάομαι (Aesch. *Agam.* 164), but in post-classical Greek a number of verbs in -άω, -έω become verbs in -ίζω. The simplex σταθμίζω is to be found as early as Aquila, *Comm. in Job* 28,25 and in Egyptian papyri. Renauld, *Et.* 68–70 cites a verb ἀντισταθμίζω in Pseudo-Athan. IV 1001 A as well as Psellos *B. G.* V 439,12 ἀντισταθμάω, but Psellos uses καταιονίζω instead of classical -άω. Ἐπισταθμίζω also in Arethas, *Scripta Minora*, ed. Westerink I 88,33. Hence I found no reason to "regularize" the form.

70.67 τῆς Σάρας. Again one of the peculiarities of this text. It is clear that the war against the Arabs (οἱ τῆς Ἄγαρ ἀπόγονοι Zon. III 223,3) is meant, about which see Theoph. 365,8 ff., cf. Niceph. *Brev.* p. 36,37, Georg. Mon. 730,1 ff., Ecl. Hist. 344,33 ff., Cedr. I 772,9 ff., 17 ff., Zon. III 230,1 ff. One may wonder about this mistake, that paleografically speaking is not so obvious. But its basis can be the analogon Σαρακηνοί

= ἀπόγονοι τῆς Σάρας: Ἀγαρηνοί = ἀπόγονοι τῆς Ἄγαρ, as has been given by Georg. Mon. ed. Muralt = Migne PG 110, § 75 C. Nevertheless, such an error cannot be easily be matched with Psellos' erudition, unless the origin of this mistake be sought in just an exaggerated sample of his erudition, in which Ἄγαρ had been circumscribed as ἡ (τῆς) Σάρας παιδίσκη. In that case the reading should have been οἱ τῆς Σάρας ⟨παιδίσκης⟩ ἀπόγονοι.

70.71 On this eclipse, see also Theoph. 367,8, Ecl. Hist. 345,19–20, Cedr. I 773,11.

70.72–74 The building activities of Justinian II (especially a Justinianeum) are mentioned in Theoph. 367,12–14, Ecl. Hist. 345,21–23, Cedr. I 773,14–16, Zon. III 231,4–8, Man. 3868–72, Anon. Sath. 114,31–115,2.

70.73 οὗ θεῖος νεώς, this detail in Theoph. 367,32–368,10, Georg. Mon. 731,2 ff., Ecl. Hist. 345,30–346,6, Cedr. I 794,3–13.

70.74–76 The uprising against Justinian II is amply mentioned in Theoph. 368,15–369,30 (not only his nose was cut off, also his tongue), see also Georg. Mon. 731,17 ff., Ecl. Hist. 346,7–22, Cedr. I 774,19–776,1, Zon. III 232,7–233,6, Man. 3882–3891, Anon. Sath. 115,15–20.

72.85 καταπτοεῖσθαι. Psellos *Const. IX*, XCVII 19 uses the active of this verb; καταποιεῖσθαι (only once quoted in LSJ.: Hp. *Mochl.* 2) 'depress' seems in itself not impossible, but too unusual to be plausible.

72.87 ὡς μὴ … τεμόντων, obviously not based on Theoph., see note *ad* 70,74—76.

72.91–74.22 (§ 82) There is a considerable resemblance with Ecl. Hist. 346,27–347,16 ≈ Cedr. I 776,12–777,9. These are based on Theoph. 370,6–371 < Niceph. *Brev.* p. 39. Different wordings but essentially the same story in Zon. III 233,11–235,4, Anon. Sath. 115,21–116,7. These stories agree that the soldiers murdered their commander (the patrician Joannes) being ashamed of their retreat from Africa. See also Man. 3895–3926, who, however, does not mention the murder of Joannes.

72.93 I have adopted Kambylis's proposal to read ἐπ' αὐτοὺς instead of the not quite understandable ἐπ' Ἀσιοὺς of the manuscript. The participle ἀναιροῦντες renders the construction rather opaque. It seems probable that in its place a main verb governed the first part of the original clause.

72.95 ἀπαναισχυντέω: see also Psellos *Mich. VII*, II 6.

72.3 The name of Leontios here is certainly a mistake, as can been seen from a comparison with the other sources. But perhaps we have to do

with a lacuna, which could be filled up as follows: καὶ ὁ μὲν Λεόντιος ⟨τὴν τῆς πόλεως φυλακὴν διὰ φροντίδος πεποίητο (cf. Zon. III 234,15–16), ὁ δὲ Ἀψίμαρος⟩ προσώρμισεν ἐν Συκαῖς (cf. Theoph. 370,28–29, Ecl. Hist. 347,11, Cedr. I 777,1–2, Zon. III 234,14–15.

72.4 πόλισμα κτλ. None of the other sources has this addition.

72.9 περιγράπτοις. I have adopted the classical accentuation. It should be noticed, however, that the mss. often have περιγραπτοῖς. Thus e. g. also in Psellos *Const. IX*, XVII 7: περιγράπτοις (ms. -τοῖς) τοῦτον ὁρίοις κολάζει.

72.20 καλλωπίζεσθαι. See *ad* 66.76.

74.21 προάλλομαι. Very seldom used. LSJ cites only Q. S. 4,510 and προαλάμενος in an Anon. ap. Suid.

74.22 λῷστε. Not elsewhere in Psellos or Anna Comn. In the latter only τὰ λῷονα ἐπεύχεσθαι (II 23,11), τὰ λῷονα ὑποτίθεσθαι (II 341,3).

74.24–26 For the facts see Theoph. 371,23–30, Zon. III 235,5–13, Cedr. I 777,17–21. Very briefly in Ecl. Hist. 347,19–20.

74.26–32 Cp. Theoph. 372,26–373,2, < Niceph. *Brev.* p. 40, Ecl. Hist. 347,24–28, Cedr. I 778,19–779,1. Zon. III 236,10–14, Anon. Sath. 116,11–19. See also Glyk. 518,3 ff. Very amply told in Man. 3929–3939.

74.32–37 Cp. Ecl. Hist. 347,28–33, 348,6–10,12. More amply in Theoph. 373,2 ff., Cedr. I 779,3 ff., Zon. III 236,14 ff., Man. 3940–3968.

74.35 συμμαχίας, namely with the king of the Bulgarians, Tervel.

74.36 ἐξεληλύθει, a striking term, probably ἐκ τοῦ ἀγωγοῦ, cf. Ecl. Hist. 348,10 καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Ἄνναν.

74.37 Ἀπολλωνιάδα, see also Theoph. 375,1, Georg. Mon. 732,18, Ecl. Hist. 348,12, Cedr. I 780,11, Zon. III 238,5. It is not clear, however, which Apollonia is meant, whether in Bithynia (more probably) or in Thracia.

It should be noticed that there are no apophthegms of Apsimar.

74.40 ἀκρωτηριάζει. None of the other reports mentions this kind of punishment.

Ἀψίμαρον κτλ. Theoph. 375,6 ff., Ecl. Hist. 348,20–25, Cedr. I 780,21 ff. tell how Apsimar and Tiberius were first treated as foot-stools, the public shouting the text of Psalm 90 (91) 'Thou shalt tread on the asp and basilisk: and thou shalt trample on the lion and dragon', and then beheaded. Zon. III 238,8–16 mentions the same punishment, without the Psalm.

74.41 διακρίνας. I think the term is correct, but one might think of διακλίνας (LSJ. s. v. 3).

74.42 δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἀγῶνος: the humiliation lasted only until the end of the first heat, according to Theoph., Ecl. Hist., Cedr. *ll. cc.*

74.46—50 The text shows some resemblance to Georg. Mon. 733,14 ff., Ecl. Hist. 349,2—12.

74.54—55 χαῦνος καὶ διερρυηκώς. In an analogous connection in Psellos *Bas. II*, IV 8—9: καὶ τὸ μὲν διερρυηκὸς τονωσάντων, συντεινάντων δὲ τὸ χαῦνον ...

74.55 It is clear that the author's remark points to Philippicus' trying to get the decisions of the 6th oecumenical synod cancelled, see Theoph. 382,10—12: Φιλιππικὸς δὲ οὐκ ᾐσχύνθη ἐκμανῶς κινηθῆναι κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης συνόδου, ἀνατρέπειν σπεύδων τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῆς βεβαιωθέντα θεῖα δόγματα < Niceph. *Brev.* p. 48. Cf. Ecl. Hist. 349,17 ff., Cedr. I 785,1 ff., Zon. III 242,18 ff.
There may be some temptation to propose a conjecture: Οὐδὲ τοῦ κινεῖν δόγματα ἀπείχετο, or οὐδὲ τοῦ κινεῖν ⟨(τὰς) ὀρθὰς⟩ δόξας, but κρίνειν is confirmed by κρίσεως in 76.58. Hence I believe the text is correct as it stands. The meaning of δόξας becomes clear from the context.

74.55—76.58 On Philippicus' adherence to the monotheletes, see Zon. III 243,2—8.

76.56—57 μηδ' ὅ τι ἐστὶ θέλημα ἐπιστάμενος ἢ φυσικὸν ἢ γνωμικόν: perhaps an allusion to Jo. Damasc. *Volunt.* 20 (Migne P. G. 95, 125 A): τοῖς μονοθελήταις τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὴν διαφορὰν τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑποστατικοῦ θελήματος, τουτέστι, τοῦ γνωμικοῦ, αἴτιον γέγονε τοῦ ἓν λέγειν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ θέλημα. See also Maximus *Opusc.* (Migne P. G. 91) 48 D, 153 A, 280 A etc.

76.58 αὐτό. The αὐτόν of the ms. is incomprehensible, in my opinion. It can at best point to the monk, who persuaded the emperor to monotheletism (see Zon. III 243,2—8, Ecl. Hist. 349,19—21), but even then the signification of κατέταττεν seems an obstacle to an understandable interpretation. An alteration into αὑτόν meets with two objections:
1. the signification of κατέταττεν
2. in the historical writing of Psellos only ἑαυτόν etc. has been used and Psellos seems in general to prefer the form of the reflexive with ἑ- (Renauld, *Et.* p. 20).

The sentence allows of a reasonable interpretation if the idea θέλημα finds its pronominal repetition in αὐτό. Thus 'he gave an ample interpretation of it to the highest qualified scholars'. For this signification of κατατάττω see LSJ. s. v. II.

76.58—63 For Philippicus' deposition, see Ecl. Hist. 349,23—30, Zon. III 244,8—14. A somewhat different and more ample version is offered by Theoph. 383,5—17 < Niceph. *Brev.* 49, cf. Cedr. I 785,10—15.

76.70 I have emended ἄτολμος into εὔτολμος in order to eliminate a negation. In the emperor's way of thinking a robber who dared to perpetrate sacrilege, should have at least a ready tongue.

76.71 The impossible φιλοπππότης of the ms. enables us to make either the correction φιλοπότης 'lover of drinking' > 'tippler' or φιλιππότης 'fond of horsemen'. The first solution meets with the objections that no tradition makes Philippicus a notorious drinker; the second that φιλιππότης is a rather uncommon word. One may think of φίλιππός τις, but that solution is equally unattractive from the viewpoint of both style and paleography. For φιλιππότης a parallel can be found in Georg. Pisides, *In Christi Resurrectionem* 79, in Nikephoros Patriarcha, *Spicilegium* IV 269,15 (Pitra) and in *Script. orig. Constantinopolit.* 165, 19 G. I think φιλιππότης is right considering the story of Philippicus' death.

Θεατροσκοπίαι seems to have been used already by Synesios, Epist. 54 (*ex corr.*). Other instances are *Synax. Eccl. Constantinopolit.* (ed. Delahaye) 117,20; 119,33.

76.76 ἀριστερώτατος: an inventively formed superlative of ἀριστερός, to demonstrate the self-conceit of the emperor. For similar comparatives and superlatives see Renauld, *Et.* 16,17.

76.78—81 Cf. the qualifications given by Ecl. Hist. 350,1—4, Zon. III 245,1—2, Theoph. 383,29—31 < Niceph. *Brev.* p. 49.

76.82 For περινοέω, see LSJ. s. v. I.

76.83—85 Comparison with other sources makes clear that the mutiny of the mariners was directed in the first place at the commander Joann(ak)is: Theoph. 385,5 ff. < Niceph. *Brev.* 50, Ecl. Hist. 350,20—26, Cedr. I 786,12 ff.

76.86 I have adopted the 'normal' spelling of the placename Ἀτραμύτιον, which is also used in Ecl. Hist. 350,26 Ἀτραμυτίῳ. See also Zon. III 246,7, Anna Comn. II 250,4; 265,7; 280,8, Anon. Sath. 120,14. Earlier texts write for the first part mostly Ἀδρα-. Thus in Theoph. 385,20 Ἀδραμυτίῳ, the same in Georg. Mon. 734,10, cf. 735,14. For the second part not only -μύτιον, μύττιον can be found, but also -μύντιον in Niceph. *Brev.* and Theoph. *l. c.* mss. g and h. The fact that in the compositions beginning with Ἀτρα- the ν does not occur elsewhere in the second part, whereas the scribe has connected the unclear ν *in ligatura* with the τ thus doubling perhaps the υ, led me to conclude that the ν should be deleted. The confusion in the mss. is, however, great and perhaps the notation Ἀτραμύντιον must be maintained.

76.88 πολλάκις. Our author frequently cannot resist his inclination to exaggerate: the sources let Theodosius escape once and once be brought back: Theoph. 385,22—23, Ecl. Hist. 350,29—30.

78.4 ἀφελοῦς ὄντος. The term ἀφελής has been preserved in the description of Theodosius in Anon. Sath. 120,15 Θεοδόσιον, ἀπράγμονά τε καὶ ἀφελῆ, ... ! Both adj. and adv. repeatedly in Psellos *Chron.*, e. g. *Const. IX*, CXL 1.

διευλαβούμενος: the same partic. in Psellos *Mich. VI*, XVII 5.

78.5 δυσμεταχείριστος 'hard to manage', see LSJ. Not in Psellos.

78.8—20 (§ 87) Between the chapter 86 and 87 the ms. has a passage on Constantine III, the son of Heraclius, in this edition § 77. On the problem of the dislocation of this chapter see the Introduction p. XX.

There is little or no resemblence to the other sources, such as Theoph., Georg. Mon., Ecl. Hist., Cedr., Zon., Glyk., Anon. Sath.

78.16 καταστοχάζομαί τινος. Not in Psellos, but in Anna Comn. I 308,17, 405,2, II 62,1.

78.18—19 μερὶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Psellos frequently uses the word μερίς in his *Chron.*, e. g. *Const. IX*, CLXXXI 7, though always in a syntactically different way. Not in Anna Comnena.

78.21 Λέων Ἴσαυρος ὁ Σύρος. The title is partly the same as in Ecl. Hist. 352,1: Λέων ὁ Ἴσαυρος ὁ Σύρος, ὁ καὶ Κόνων, ὁ εἰκονομάχος. The introducing line in Georg. Mon. 735,13 runs as follows: Μετὰ δὲ Θεοδόσιον ἐβασίλευσε Λέων ὁ Ἴσαυρος ὁ καὶ Κόνων ἔτη κε' ... , Cedr. I 788,9—10 has Λέων ὁ καὶ Κόνων, ὁ Ἴσαυρος καὶ εἰκονομάχος, ...
The Latin adaptation of Theoph. 391,6 reads instead of τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας: genere Syrus (!). The title in the mss. ACDE of Zon. III 248,10 runs βασιλεία Λέοντος τοῦ Ἰσαύρου τοῦ καὶ Κόνωνος. Yet differently Anon. Sath. 121,5: Λέων ὁ Ἴσαυρος ὁ Εἰκονομάχος.

θηρίον. Allusion to the name of Leo (= Lion). Similar allusion in Ecl. Hist. 353,32 (ὡς ἀνήμερος θὴρ βρύξας, cf. Georg. Mon. 741,17 ὡς λέων βρύξας), 354,19—20 ὁ δυσώνυμος θήρ, Zon. III 260,14 τὸν θῆρα τὸν λεοντώνυμον. For our passage see especially Man. 4164—5 ὁ γάρ τοι θηριώνυμος ἐξ Ἰσαυρίας Λέων ὁ καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ τοὔνομα καὶ τρόπους θηριώδης. Again 4172 ὁ θήρ, 4175 τὴν θηριογνώμονα καρδίαν etc.

78.22 κατὰ μαντείαν. Unlike the other presentations, this chapter on Leo is very concise. On the foretellings and foretellers see e. g. Ecl. Hist. 352,3—353,12, Theoph. 401,29—402,18, Cedr. ± 788,11—789,13, Zon. III 257,18—259,17.

78.23 εἰκόνων. The ms. reads κανόνων as in 80.35. Though this reading is not impossible (cf. also Theoph. 404,7—8: τὰ ἀρχαῖα δόγματα), the reading εἰκόνων seems closer to the author's intention, who writes 80.62—63 and 84.20: τῶν θείων εἰκόνων.

78.24 παραξέω 'graze' > 'disfigure': thus Psellos, *Const. IX*, CXI 12, Anna Comn. I 213,9, 224,1, cf. Heliod. 5,32.

78.25 σεμνὰ φροντιστήρια. On the violent closing of such an institute, see Georg. Mon. 742,1 ff., Ecl. Hist. 354,14–23, Cedr. I 795,19–796,6, Zon. III 259,19–261,5, very dramatically Man. 4257–4303.

78.26–27 τῶν καταδραμόντων Σαρακηνῶν: cf. Ecl. Hist. 354,26–355,6 < Georg. Mon. 744,19 ff., cf. also Theoph. 395,13 ff. < Niceph. *Brev.* p. 53. Our author does not mention Leo's victory.

78.29–80.31 The proper Copronymus-story (see Cedr. I 792,6–13 < Theoph. 400,7–13) follows in § 89, 80.35–37.

80.32 νόσῳ, dysentery according to Ecl. Hist. 356,20, Cedr. I 802,11, Zon. III 264,12.

80.33–46 (§ 89) Both title and chapter are extremely short in comparison with e. g. the parallel chapter in Ecl. Hist. (ca. 200 lines!). Our author only insists on the personality of the iconoclast emperor but omits all political events of that period.

80.35 ὑπερακοντίζω 'outdo', an Aristophanean word (e. g. *Av.* 363), not elsewhere in Psellos, Anna Comnena.

80.37–43 On this interest of Constantine V, see Zon. III 264,16–265,2, Ecl. Hist. 356,30–33, Georg. Mon. 750,21 ff., Cedr. II 3,6–9, who uses the word ἀντιχρίστου. See further also Theoph. 413,22–25, Man. 4322 sqq.

80.43–44 Implicitly given in Georg. Mon. 751,7 ff., Ecl. Hist. 357,3 ff., Cedr. II 3,13 ff.

80.44 πυρὶ θείῳ φλεγόμενος: cf. Theoph. 448,13 ff. καὶ δεινῶς κατὰ τῶν σκελῶν θεηλάτῳ πληγῇ ἀνθρακωθεὶς κἀντεῦθεν πυρετῷ ... δι' ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἔκκαυσιν συσχεθείς Ecl. Hist. 362,12–13, Cedr. II 17,22 ff., Zon. III 280,13.

80.45 ἀναβοῶν. See Zon. III 280,17 ... βοῶν ὡς "ζῶν ἔτι τῷ πυρὶ παραδέδομαι" < Theoph. 448,19–21, cf. Ecl. Hist. 362,16–18, Cedr. II 18,3–5.

80.52–53 καὶ μητὴρ αὐτοῦ μὲν ἡ Χαζάρα – ἐθνικὸν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα –: the addition – ἐθνικὸν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα – seems to criticise the interpretation which suggests Chazara to be a proper name.

80.54–55 This remark is lacking in Theoph. and Zon. In Ecl. Hist. 364,1–2, Cedr. II 19,21; 20,3 it follows after the paragraph of the discovery of iconolatry in the palace of Leo IV: Ecl. Hist. *l. c.* τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐξουδενώσας ἀπώσατο, μὴ ἐγνωκὼς αὐτὴν ἔτι, Cedr. *l. c.*

80.56–59 See also Ecl. Hist. 364,5–9, Cedr. II 20,3–8, who use the term τῆς ἱεροσυλίας to indicate the cause of Leo's illness. The same story,

but more concise, in Theoph. 453,27–30. Georg. Mon. 765,11 does not mention the crown of Mauricius, but speaks about τὸ στέμμα τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας.

80.60–63 None of the parallel sources has a similar contemplation.

80.67–69 This black page in Byzantine history found, of course, its place in all accounts of this period: Theoph. 468,19–20, 472,16–22, Georg. Mon. 771,1–7, Ecl. Hist. 368,26–369,6, Cedr. II 27,11–21, Zon. III 297,15, 298,13. See the dramatic description in Man. 4440 ff., with a clear reminiscene in 4463–65 of Soph. *O. T.* 1276–79 (!). See also the passage on Constantine's blinding in the remarks ἐκ τοῦ χρονικοῦ, following after the passage from Psellos' Chronography in this ms., published by W. J. Aerts, in Byzantino-Slavica XLII (1981) p. 12 (§ 13). Georg. Mon. 771,5–7 lets the blinding take place without the empress's knowledge. For ἀποτυφλοῦται see Ecl. Hist. 369,6.

82.68 σκότος: cf. Theoph. 472,18, Ecl. Hist. 369,1, Cedr. II 27,16 etc.; ἐσκοτίσθη δὲ ὁ ἥλιος. Here, however, the author thinks of Matth. 27,45: ἀπὸ δὲ ἕκτης ὥρας σκότος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἕως ἐνάτης.

82.75–76 The bad press of Nikephores I is based especially on Theoph. 486,10 ff., see also Zon. 306,3 ff. There are, however, also accounts in his favour (Ostrogorsky-Hussey p. 186,187 and note 1).

82.77 ἐπίκλοπος: not elsewhere in Psellos or Anna Comn. The word is used in Hom. λ 364, ν 291, Proc. *Bella Goth.* 4,30,2, *Anecd.* 25,18. ἐπίκλοπος καὶ δολερώτατος. For the combination positive-superlative, see Renauld, *Et.* 363 sub d.

82.79 πάντα μὲν διαλυμηνάμενος πράγματα: cf. Psellos *Zoe et Theod.* V 10–11 τὸ δὲ τὰ πάντα διαλυμηνάμενον.

82.80–81 ἡ κακία ἐκεκορύφωτο: the same verb in Psellos *Const. IX*, XLVIII 6 ... τὸ κακὸν αὐξηθὲν καὶ κορυφωθὲν τὸ πᾶν ἀνέτρεψε ..., *Mich. IV*, XIX 21–22 ... τὸ ... πάθος ... προήει ἀκμάζον καὶ κορυφούμενον. Not in Anna Comn.

82.81 ὑπὸ δαίμονός τινος: Zon. III 308,10–11 blames his contacts with Manichaeans and Athingani.

82.82–85 This scene and the apophthegms date back to Theoph. 489,28–490,2 who pretends to have been informed by this servant himself. See also Cedr. II 41,1–6, Zon. III 309,1–6. Especially the first part of the imperial answer has been extensively adapted by our author.

82.91–92 There is some confusion about the place of the deadly wound. Our author agrees (roughly) with Zon. III 310,7 ff. τιτρώσκεται δὲ καὶ ὁ Σταυράκιος μεταξὺ τοῦ ὤμου τοῦ δεξιοῦ καὶ τοῦ τένοντος (Ecl. Hist.

372,28 ... κατὰ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μηροῦ, Theoph. 492,3 ... καιρίως κατὰ τοῦ σπονδύλου τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος, 495,15–16 ... ἐκ τῆς καιρίας πληγῆς τὰ περὶ τὴν ῥάχιν, Cedr. 42,21 ... καιρίως κατὰ τοῦ σπονδύλου).

84.1 τῶν ἀνακτόρων κάτεισιν: for the construction cp. Psellos, *Rom. IV*, VIII 9 τοῦ δωματίου ... κατελθών, ... Leo Gramm. 214,7: ἡ ... Εὐφροσύνη ... κατελθοῦσα τοῦ παλατίου ἐν τῇ μονῇ αὐτῆς, ... See also Renauld, *Et.* 150.

Ἐν μοναστηρίῳ δέ τινι κτλ. I have maintained the reading of the ms., but it should perhaps read: τῶν ἀνακτόρων κάτεισιν ἐν μοναστηρίῳ τινί. Βραχὺν δέ τινα χρόνον ... cf. Leo Gramm. *ibid.* The first-mentioned monastery is named Σταυρακὰ in Ecl. Hist. 373,4–5, τὰ Βρακά (-ᾶ) in Georg. Mon. 776,10–11 and Cedr. II 43,5, τὰ Ἑβραϊκά in Theoph. 494,7. Zon. III 313,9–11 gives an explanation of this confusion.

84.2–3 ἔτος ἓν ... πρὸς δύο μησίν. The same numbers in Georg. Mon. 776,1, Ecl. Hist. *l. c.*, but Zon. III 313,6 mentions δύο μῆνας ... ἐπὶ ἡμέραις ἕξ: two months and six days.

84.8–11 There is a certain resemblance with Georg. Mon. 776,14 ff. and Ecl. Hist. 373,18–24. Cp. also Theoph. 497,28–30.

84.13 ἀκροθιγῶς: not elsewhere in Psellos, but in Anna Comn. II 192,20.

84.16 As both in Theophanes as in the *Eclogae Istorion* (Ecl. Hist.) the stories come to an end with Michael Rangabe, parallels will be cited from the Continuatio Theophanis (C. Th.), and Leo Gramm. (Corp. Bonn. p. 207,6 sqq.).

84.18 τρόπαια: cf. Zon. III 322,8–12, Cedr. II 54,3–5.

ὑποκαθήμενος: cf. Psellos *Bas. II*, XVIII 4 τὰς ... φρένας ὑποκαθήμενος. See LSJ. s. v. ὑποκάθημαι II. The same verb 100.21.

84.19 εὐσέβειαν ... ὑποκριθείς: implicitly given in C. Th. 640,1–2 (Sym. Mag.), cf. also Georg. Mon. 777,1–2 ... καὶ παραβάτης ὕστερον ἀναφανείς, ...

δόλου μεστός. The δόλος came in fact from the monk, who incited Leo to iconoclasm. Zon. III 323,9 δόλῳ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνος τὸν Λέοντα μέτεισι. The same story, but without this 'key-word': Cedr. II 54,6 ff.

84.20 κατὰ τῶν θείων εἰκόνων κατατολμᾷ: Zon. III 327,11 says of the (iconoclastic) patriarch Theodotos, brought to the patriarchal seat by Leo the Armenian, that he τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων τόλμαν μετεχειρίζετο.

84.23–25 For the suspicion laid on Michael, see Georg. Mon. 787,20 ff., Cedr. II 61,4 ff., Zon. III 329,7 ff., Leo Gr. 210,4–7.

84.25–29 On these events, see Georg. Mon. 788,12 ff., Leo Gr. 210,9 ff., Cedr. II 64,16 ff., Zon. III 332,13 ff., Man. 4693–4707.

84.32 ἐλευθερίαν. Most sources for the reign of Michael II mention his initial neutrality in matters of iconoclasm vs. iconolatry, e. g. Georg. Mon. 792,9, Leo Gramm. 211,6–10, Cedr. II 72,13–22, C. Th. 47,16–48,1, Ps.-Sym. 620,11–13, Zon. III 338,9–12, Man. 4709–11.

84.33 ἔπειτα κτλ.: Zon. III 338,12–339,12, cp. also Cedr. II 72,22 ff., C. Th. 48,1 ff.

84.34–35 A rather optimistic reproduction of the facts: neither can much luck be imputed to Michael in his empire (see e. g. Man. 4721 ff.!) nor was the number of usurpers vanquished by him more than one: Thomas, a dangerous one, indeed. One could even imagine that the idea εὐτυχής originally formed part of a description of the usurper Thomas, whose rise from poverty to power is told by Zon. III 341,4 ff.: ἦν δὲ ὁ Θωμᾶς οὗτος οὐ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν. ... (6) ἀναχθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης (see the title in ms. C: ὅτι εὐτύχει ὁ τύραννος οὗτος καὶ ἐκρατύνετο).

86.41–42 Both δυσουρία and δυσεντερία are the usual causes of death for heretics: Cedr. II 99,5–7 mentions the latter, Georg. Mon. 792,8, Leo Gramm. 213,3–5, C. Th. 83,18, Ps.-Sym. 624,10 prefer the first version.

86.43–48 This story can be found in several sources: Leo Gramm. 213,7 ff., Zon. III 354,3 ff., Ps.-Sym. 624,17–625,4, Glyk. 535,20–536,5. It is wanting in Scyl., Cedr., Man. There are, however, a number of striking peculiarities which need discussion.

1. There has unmistakably been written Κασία: Zon., Ps.-Sym. Εἰκασία, Leo Ἰκασία, Glykas ἡ Κασία, which does not permit a conclusive choice. The mss. B and D of Zonaras have also κασία.
2. The riposte of Kasia (here preceeding the remark) reads in all sources ἐκ (διὰ) γυναικὸς πηγάζει τὰ κρείττονα. The change is probably due to the inversion of remark and answer.
3. Plainly strange is the addition τὴν τοῦ δικαίου Φιλαρέτου ἐγγόνην, which seems to be taken from a description of Maria of Paphlagonia, first wife of Constantine VI. Nearly the same wording is used by Georg. Mon., IV 256,7 (ed. Muralt in Migne P. G. 110) ... ἤγαγε κόρην ἐκ τῶν Παφλαγόνων ὀνόματι Μαρίαν *τὴν τοῦ* ἁγίου *Φιλαρέτου ἐγγόνην*, ... ≈ Anon. Sath. 127,2–4. Zon. III 286,13, speaking of the same maiden, calls her: τοῦ ... Φιλαρέτου θυγάτριον, a daughter of Philaretus.

   On the family of Theodora, see Scyl. cap. 5 (52,67 ff.) = Cedr. II 103,8 ff., Zon. III 258,7 ff.

86.49 δικαιοσύνη κτλ. Cf. Scyl. *Theoph.* cap. 1 (49,84 ff.) = Cedr. II 99,16 ff., see also *ibid.* cap. 3 = II 101,7 ff., C. Th. 86,19 ff., 87,9, Zon. III 355,9–10, 357,4–5.

86.51 ἀνοηταίνω, not elsewhere in Psellos or Anna Comn., but used in Plato *Phlb* 12 d, Henioch. 5, Plot. 5,5,1, see LSJ.

δικαιοπραγεῖν 'act honestly' Arist. *EN* 1135 a 16.

86.52—53 There is a weak correspondence with Zon. III 361,5—11.

86.63—67 On these events, see C. Th. 207,17—210,4, 249,8 ff., Ps.-Sym. 683,3—5, 684,4 ff., Scyl. *Mich.* cap. 23,24 (113,25 ff.), Zon. III 416,5—417,9, Glyk. 545,10—546,6.

86.69—70 ἔτυχε ... μαντείας. There are at least two instances, to which this vague indication can point: 1. an eagle overshadows the baby Basilius sleeping in a cornfield (Zon. III 408,13 ff., C. Th. 218,4—219,11, Scyl. *Bas. I* cap. 3 (118,48 ff.) = Cedr. 186,18 ff.); 2. a monk is thrice summoned by a dream to let the emperor in: when he opens the door he only sees a destitute figure, the later emperor Basilius. (Zon. III 409,11—410,8, C. Th. 223,5 ff., Scyl. 120,89—15, Man. 5210, 5240 etc.).

80.73—75 See especially Ps.-Sym. 687,16—688,10. On ἐμπαρέντες, from ἐμπείρω 'fix on', 'empale' (here metaphor.) cp. LSJ. s. v. II. Not elsewhere in Psellos or Anna Comn.

88.79—81 According to Ps.-Sym. 688,22—689,4, cf. Zon. III 418,9—13, Photios refused the holy communion to Basilius. On Photios' dismissal see also Scyl. 133,70—75.

88.81—83 This episode in C. Th. 348,20—351,15, Scyl. 168,84—169,40, Zon. III 437,2—439,10, Glyk. 550,19—551,15.

88.83—86 See, in particular, Zon. III 432,13—15 quoted in *app. loc.* 88,85—86. According to C. Th. 319,10—14 this building activity concerned one palace-church, dedicated to Jesus Christ, the archangel Michael and Elias the Thesbite (IV Ki. 1,3), cf. Scyl. 158,17—20.

88.85 ἐκ βάθρων: in C. Th. 323,14 used in connection with the construction of a church in honour of John the Baptist.

88.86—88 Ps.-Sym. 688,14 mentions earthquakes during forty days and nights. See also Zon. III 434,17, Scyl. 161,4—6, C. Th. 321,20.

88.89—91 This story is told by Zon. III 436,6—17. Our author injects an element of vagueness, writing τινες τῶν γοήτων. In Zon. the magician is the monk Santabarenos. See also C. Th. 693,3—11, Glyk. 550,12—18. Not in Scyl..

88.93—4 In Scyl. 170,47 the cause of death is less spectacular: diarrhea.

88.7 A difficult passage. If ἐξῆρε is correct it should signify: (the knowledge), which Plato *elevated to a scientific level* (as opposed to earlier philosophy). In combination, however, with ὕστερον and the idea ἀκρι-

βόω, it would be a reasonable emendation to read ἐξηῦρε: the knowledge/ wisdom *introduced* by Plato (and later further specified by Aristotle). Another difficulty is furnished by the participle ἀκριβώσαντες. An emendation ἠκρίβωσε would, indeed, dispose of every problem of interpretation, but one fails to understand how the corruption might have come about. Starting, however, from the parallelism in the period (ἣν Πλάτων ..., ἧς Πυθαγόρας ...) I have added a (second) main verb after Ἀριστοτέλης: ⟨ἐξήνεγκεν⟩ (cp. Psellos *Scr. Min.* I 443,9). This requires also the emendation ἀκριβώσας, the corruption of which can be explained by the double subject.

It should, further, be noticed that in the ms. δέ has a peculiar though not impossible (see Renauld, *Et.* 224) position. Probably one should read γε or δή. Concluding, I think the relative clause originally ran as follows: ... ἣν Πλάτων ἐξηῦρε (ἐξῆρε) καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ⟨ἐξήνεγκεν⟩ ἐν πολλοῖς γε βιβλίοις ὕστερον ἀκριβώσας, ...

On the development of Greek philosophy (Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle etc.) see e. g. Psellos *Scr. Min.* I, 441–450, on Archytas see *ibid.* 456,20. See also Psellos *Const. IX*, XXXVII 9 ff.

88.11 There is hardly a chance that the emperor Leo VI (born 866) was a pupil of Leo the philosopher, nominated head of higher education at the Magnaura Palace in 863 by the Caesar Bardas. Leo, born ca. 800, was then already in his sixties. (See e. g. Bréhier, Monde Byz. III = Civ. Byz. 465–67, E. E. Lipšic 'Vizantijskij učenyi Lev Matematik' = The Byz. scholar Leo the Mathematician VV 27 (1949), 106 ff., C. Mango 'The Legend of Leo the Wise' ZRVI 6 (1960), 91 ff.).

90.12 On Leo the philosopher's prophetic gifts, see Ps.-Sym. 688,17–21, Leo Gramm. 243,21, 254,15, Scyl. 107,56–58, 126,68.

90.15 The dat. κάλλει of the ms. cannot reasonably be connected with ἀφιέντας. For κάλλη, see e. g. Long. Περὶ Ὕψους 5,1.

90.16 μετακεχειρισμένους σοφιστικῶς, cf. Psellos *Const. IX*, CLXI 11: καὶ τὰ φαῦλα σοφιστικῶς μεταχειρισάμενος ...

90.21–22 For the dismissal of Photius by Leo, see C. Th. 354,2, Ps.-Sym. 700,14 ff., Leo Gramm. 263,5–7, Zon. III 440,10–15, Scyl. 171,61–79, Glyk. 553,11–17.

90.23–24 The trial of Photius is discussed in C. Th. 354,16 ff., Ps.-Sym. 701,1 ff., Leo Gramm. 264,1–265,13, Scyl. 173,6–43. Not in Zon. and Glyk.

90.24 I have altered νικήσας into νικήσαντα in order to link the participle to the object Φώτιον. Photius defended himself successfully in the trial mentioned in the previous note. If νικήσας is correct, then one

has to assume a change of subject, which implies a lacune after νικήσας. The repetition, laid down in the words αὖθις ἀπήλασε, give rise to suspicion, too.

90.25–27 Leo Gramm. 249,3 takes it for granted, that Leo was the son of Michael III and Eudokia Ingerina, Glyk. 551,22 ff. shows himself to be sceptical at this point, with reference to Zon. III 414,16–415,5. Having related that Michael gave his concubine into matrimony with Basilius, Zonaras concludes his story as follows: τίκτεται δὲ τῷ Βασιλείῳ ἐκ τῆς Εὐδοκίας παιδίον ἄρρεν ὁ Λέων, ὃ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ μᾶλλον εἶναι ἐλέγετο, ὡς ἐγκύου τῆς Εὐδοκίας οὔσης ὅτε τῷ Βασιλείῳ συνῴκιστο. Glykas attacks this statement, referring to the medical theory, which says that alcoholics are not capable of procreation, but nevertheless gives a free reproduction of Zonaras' words: ὁ δὲ Ζωναρᾶς φησιν ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ υἱὸς τοῦ Μιχαὴλ ἦν, τοῦ Βασιλείου δὲ τῷ δοκεῖν· ἡ γὰρ μήτηρ τοῦ Λέοντος (Εὐδοκία δὲ ἦν αὕτη, τοῦ Ἴγκηρος θυγάτηρ) συμφθειρομένη πρότερον τῷ Μιχαήλ, ἔγκυος τῷ Βασιλείῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ συνεζεύγνυτο. The background of the passage is therefore clear enough, and it also seems unlikely that the ἔγγυον (l. 20) of the ms. refers to anything other than the pregnancy of Eudokia (> ἔγκυον). But, for the rest, the corruption looks irreparable: 1. the relationship between the first part and the second part of the clause can hardly be otherwise than causal. This relationship can be created by reading ὅτι instead of ὅτε, but the latter seems to be confirmed by the Zonaras text. 2. What to do with πρὸς in the face of ἠγάγετο? The consideration that πρὸς is a corruption of πρότερον (cf. Glyk.) is of no help. If πρὸς is correct, then ἠγάγετο cannot fail to be incorrect (ἐζεύχθη?). 3. Who is the subject of εἶχε, Basilius or Eudokia? As the reading stands now, the subject must be Basilius, but by making Eudokia the subject (> ἔγκυος), the balance of the sentence considerably improves. If there are some suggestions to be given: closest to the text would be … ἀλλὰ τοῦ Μιχαήλ. Ὅτι γὰρ τὴν τούτου γαμετὴν ἠγάγετο ὁ Βασίλειος ἔγκυον ἐκ τοῦ Μιχαήλ, εἶχε τὸν Λέοντα. 'For Basilius had Leo (as a son), because he married his (= Michael's) wife who was with child from Michael'. Neither the suppression of ὅτε nor the construction as a whole is very satisfactory. Another solution could be … ἀλλὰ τοῦ Μιχαήλ, ⟨διὸ⟩ (or ⟨ὅτι⟩) ὅτε [πρὸς] τὴν τούτου γαμετὴν ἠγάγετο ὁ Βασίλειος, ἔγκυος ἐκ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ εἶχε τὸν Λέοντα: 'because, at the moment Basilius married his (Michael's) wife, she was pregnant with Leo by Michael'.

Anon. Sath. 143,13–16 mentions Leo as the second son of Basilius and Eudokia. Modern scholars agree now about Leo VI as a legitimate son of Basilius (Ostrogorsky-Hussey, 233 note 1).

90.27–31 On the reburial of Michael, see C. Th. 353,6–11, Ps.-Sym. 700,9–14, Leo Gramm. 262,17–263,2, Zon. III 441,1–7, Scyl. 172,80–88.

90.34–38 On the complications around Leo's fourth marriage, see C. Th. 370,8–371,11, Ps.-Sym. 705,11–12, Scyl. 184,16–40, Zon. III 446,1–11, Glyk. 555,7–556,3, Anon. Sath. 146,22–147,5.

90.38–40 Though it has not explicitly been stated, the succession of events, as given by our author, suggests a connection between the question of Leo's fourth marriage and the installation of his brother Stephanos on the patriarchal throne. All other sources place that installation at the beginning of Leo's reign connecting it with the dismissal of Photius.

90.42–45 About Leo's death and the nomination of Alexander, cp. C. Th. 377,5–16, Ps.-Sym. 715,11–18, Scyl. 192,24–29, 35–39, Zon. III 455,1–13. Our text has some elements from both Scyl. and Zon., see *app. font*.

90.47–48 Similar presentations, though in other wordings, about Alexander's style of life in C. Th. 378,18 ff., Ps.-Sym. 716,14 ff., Scyl. 193,59–64, 194,80–81, Anon. Sath. 147,10–14.

90.47 κοττάβοις: for this game see LSJ. s. v.

92.54 διαπαίξας τὴν βασιλείαν. At first sight a rather innocent jest of the author. Yet, the passage is not fully without problems. Zon. III 458,5–6 writes ... τὴν βασίλειον διαπεττεύσας ἀρχὴν (again 493,15) and Psellos presents in a similar situation a similar formula: *Const. VIII*, IX 7: οὕτω γοῦν αὐτὸν τὸ κράτος διαπεττεύοντα ὁ θάνατος κατειλήφει, ... Διαπαίζω not in Psellos. Neither διαπαίζω nor διαπεττεύω in Anna Comn.

92.60 πολυαρχία: see *ad* 92.77.

92.65 Ῥωμανὸς ὁ Ἀβάστακτος: see 88.76–77; *app. font.* 88.75–77, see also Joel 57,7.

92.66 ἡ Λάκαπα: cf. Man. 5472 τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Λακάπης.

92.67–68 For ἰσχύω περί τινα (with περί instead of πρός) cf. LXX Psalm 12 (13),4: μή ποτε εἴποι ὁ ἐχθρός μου, ἴσχυσα πρὸς αὐτόν.

92.69–71 Cf. Zon. III 468,8–9, 1–3, C. Th. 394,18–21, 3–10, Ps.-Sym. 727,19–21, 3–7, Scyl. 209,63–68, 208,49–56, cf. also Glyk. 557,15–558,3.

92.71–77 There is a considerable resemblance with Zon. III 472,8–14 quoted in *app. font.* C. Th. 409,21–410,3, Scyl. 221,71–77, furnish a part of the facts, without any textual resemblance. Very briefly also in Glyk.

560,18–561,4. In his description of the active reign of Constantine VII, Scylitzes provides more similarities: 233,5–19. Man. 5556 ff. gives also a full account of the events in an imaginative but hardly comparable way: e. g. the πολυαρχία becomes a μυριοκέφαλος ... ὕδρα (5594).

92.81–84 See for these facts also C. Th. 400,19–401,2, Scyl. 233,13–19.

94.86 παρήορος. Not elsewhere in Psellos, Anna Comn. See Hom. *Il.* Π 471, 474, D. H. VII, 73, 2.

94.87–89 The deposition of Romanos I by his own sons is mentioned by C. Th. 435,11 ff., Anon. Sath. 152,8 ff., Zon. III 480,10 ff., Scyl. 234,21 ff., Man. 5619.20. Whereas Zonaras and Scylitzes agree that Constantine realised his (re)accession to the throne by playing off his stepbrothers against each other, our author has them in unison depose their father and plot against Constantine VII.

94.91 ἀνεξικακεῖ: a verb from the Greek romances: Charito 8,4. Psellos has τὸ ἀνεξίκακον in *Scr. Min.* 8,6, Anna Comn. the subst. ἡ ἀνεξικακία, I 229,12; 375,6; 458,7; II 134,19.

94.95–1 This confrontation is mentioned by Zon. III 481,11–14. There it results only in a saying of Romanos: "Sons I begot, whom I exalted, but they in their turn annihilated me."

94.12 κομμωτικά. Not elsewhere in Psellos or Anna Comn.

Χαύνοις ... ἤθεσι. Criticism of Constantine follows also in Zon. III 483,9–16. In Scyl. 237,8–20 and Glyk. 561,5–12 critical remarks precede the approval. Glykas uses also the word χαῦνος: χαῦνός τε γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ... None of these sources mentions Constantine's interest for boys.

94.13 Ἀντιποιεῖσθαί τινος. Not elsewhere in Psellos or Anna Comn.

94.14 Διονύσιος. See e. g. Diod. Sic. XV, 6,1 ff.

94.15 χολῆς: Zon. III 483,10 δύσοργος. Zon. and Scyl. suggest, however, that Constantine was vindictive.

94.21 The ms. writes the peculiar form τεσσαρακοντήτης instead of the normal τεσσαρακοντούτης or τεσσαρακονταέτης (accent mostly -κονταετής). The number itself, however, is not without problems. The other sources which mention Romanos' age at the time of his death speak of twenty-four years: Scyl. 253,32 ... ἐτῶν ὑπάρχων εἰκοσιτεσσάρων ..., Glyk. 567,3 ... ἐτῶν κδ′, ... C. Th. 469,9–10 places Romanos' accession to the throne in his twenty-first year. Given his little more than three years reign, C. Th. furnishes a similar result. Leo Diac. 6,4–5 refrains from mentioning more than the fact that Romanos was an adult, when he was called to the throne. Nor does Leo Dioc. 31,5 indicate his age at the moment of his death.

παιδαριώδης: not elsewhere in Psellos, but in Anna Comn. II 350,11 ... ἀπήλλαγμαι τῆς παιδαριώδους τούτων σχολῆς ...

96.24—26 On Romanos' frivolous way of life, see C. Th. 472,7—473,5, Zon. III 490,14—18. Leo Diac. 6,5—10 has a better opinion of this emperor.

96.24 Πανημερίοις. The construction is not classic: in classic authors the adjective always agrees with the subject of the verb, as is done also by Anna Comn. I 342,5; 393,8. An emendation > πανημέριος might be considered. Nic. Chon. *Or.* 3,16; 184,9 (Van Dieten), however, uses the adjective also in connection with an accusative.

96.25—26 For κεχηνέναι περί τι 'be taken up with, eager about', see Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 2, 10, 102 (LSJ *Addenda* s. v.). Not elsewhere in Psellos or in Anna Comn. Nearly parallel is Glyk. 579,20—22 ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἱπποδρομίας ὡς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος κεχηνὼς ...

96.27—28 This remark in this place is surprising. It seems that our author incorrectly alludes to the unsuccesful expedition against Crete under Gongylios during the reign of Constantine VII (Scyl. 245,33—52). The attack of Nikephoros Phokas resulted in the reconquest of the island by the Byzantines.

96.29—30 I have filled up the lacuna that must be assumed between ἐλπίδα and ἄνδρα, because it emerges from 96.31—34 that his name must already have been mentioned. It is clear that this man is Nikephoros Phokas, cf. Zon. III 492,15: λέγεται γοῦν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς αὐταρχίας τοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν πᾶσαν χώραν λεηλατούντων εἰς ἀπορίαν περιστῆναι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ τὸν Φωκᾶν Νικηφόρον προσκαλεσάμενον ἔρεσθαι τοῦτον πῶς εἰς τὸ κατόπιν Ῥωμαίοις περιηνέχθη τὰ πράγματα.

96.30—31 This qualification of Nikephoros is unlike the unfavourable description in Scyl. 273,38 ff. It may derive from the necrology of Leo Diac. 89,15 ff. A very positive judgment is given by Man. 5767 ff.

96.32 πεπίστευτο. I think this correction of ms. πεπιστεύκει is necessary. In fact, he became δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς ἀνατολῆς (Leo Diac. 46,6—7, Scyl. 238,37).

96.38 εὔρασθαι. For this aor. I, see Renauld, *Et.* 26: εὔρατο *Patr.* 973 A etc.; εὔραντο *Patr.* 1177 D etc.

96.42 καθιστᾷ. Thus reads the ms. Though καθίστα would be possible (Renauld, *Et.* 62, 63), variation of tense is so common for this kind of style that the reading of the text can be maintained without objection.

96.44 βωλοκόπος. In classic literature only in Cratinus frg. 5 (Kock). In modern Greek the word is used to denote the instrument for clod breaking = σβάρνα, βωλοκόπι 'harrow'.

96.46 διαγκαλίζομαι. See Renauld, *Lex.* s. v.
ἀφ' ἵππων. I have corrected the reading of the ms. ἐφ' ἵππον. Ἀφ' ἵππων is the good expression. A similar mistake in Psellos *Const. IX*, CXI 6: ἀφ' ἵππου corrected by Pantazidis. Renauld, *Et.* 175 defended the reading of the ms., but adopted the emendation in his edition.

96.50 τίκτονται. See Scyl. 248,3 Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει τίκτεται πάλιν αὐτῷ ἕτερος υἱὸς ..., cf. Zon. III 490,13 εἶτα καὶ δεύτερος αὐτῷ ἐτέχθη υἱός, ... Neither in Scyl. nor in Zon. has the birth of Basilius been mentioned *expressis verbis*. But the fact is given by Anon. Sath. 153,13: τότε γεννᾶται καὶ ὁ ... παῖς Βασίλειος, ... Both children again mentioned *ibid.* 153,18–19 οὗτος δευτέραν γυναῖκα λαβὼν τὴν Θεοφανὼ ἔσχεν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἄρρενας μὲν παῖδας δύο Βασίλειον καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον, ...

96.51 ἀπαράμιλλος. Not in LSJ., frequent in Psellos, see Renauld, *Lex.* s. v.

96.52 τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν βραχύς: cp. Psellos *Bas. II*, XXXVI, 1: τὴν δὲ ἡλικίαν ἐλάττονα μὲν εἶχε τοῦ μετρίου.

96.55–56 Marriage and children of Constantine VIII are mentioned by Zon. III 570,14. See also Psellos *Const. VIII*, IV 3,6–7.

96.56 παρά τινι τῶν βασιλικῶν κοιτωνίσκων: nearly the same group of words in Psellos *Eud.* VII,10–11: καθεύδει δὲ ἄνωθί που ἔν τινι τῶν βασιλικῶν κοιτωνίσκων. About παρά (with objects) ± ἐν, see Renauld, *Et.* 179, Böhlig 150, note 1, referring to similar use in Synesios.

96.57–98.59 On the death of Romanos II, cp. Zon. III 493,15–494,2, Scyl. 253,30–35; see also Glyk. 567,2, Joel 58,12–16, Man. 5675–79, Anon. Sath. 153,17. Scyl. assigns a reign of thirteen years, four months and five days to Romanos, while Manasses says fourteen years; the real length was three years and four months. If one reckons from his rise to imperial dignity (6–4–945, Ostrogorsky-Hussey 279), his emperorship lasted nearly eighteen years. Our author adheres, perhaps, to the conception of the long-term reign, and has along that way arrived at his (much too) high estimate of Romanos' age.

98.62 συνηναγκάσθη, ms. συναναγκάσθη. According to Renauld, *Et.* 29, the *augmentum temporale* is always written in impf. and aor.

98.62–63 τῶν πραγμάτων συνταραχθέντων αὐτῇ: cp. Scyl. 257,17–18 καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν ταραχῇ καθεστώτων.

As to the whole passage 60–63 it looks as if here the same consideration has been imputed to Theophano, as in Scyl. 257,11–15 to Nikephoros. See also Zon. III 497,1–3.

98.65 ἐποφθαλμίζω. Psellos uses the word in *Scr. Min.* 357,16. This remark on Theophano may be meant ironically: if not, our author gives a more favourable interpretation of the behaviour of this empress than is generally done.

98.69–70 According to Scyl. 256,82 ff. the *parakoimomenos* Joseph Bringas tried to regain his influence by setting up Tzimiskes and Romanos Kourkouas against Nikephoros. *Idem* in Zon. III 495,14 ff., Man. 5688 (without mentioning Bringas).

98.73 τὴν χεῖρα ... ἐπανατεῖναι: cp. Zon. III 496,12–13 ἐκεῖνοι (i. e. Tzimiskes and Kourkouas) τὰ ξίφη γυμνώσαντες ἀνελεῖν ἠπείλουν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ πείθοιτο. See also Scyl. 256,6: ἠπείλουν διαχειρίσασθαι (no bare swords!), Glyk. 567,16 ff., Anon. Sath. 154,25–155,12.

98.73–76 On Nikephoros' accession to the throne and his marriage with Theophano, see Zon. III 498,11 ff., Scyl. 258,54 ff., Glyk. 568,7 ff., Man. 5736–47.

98.77–78 A similar description, though in other wording, is given by Man. 5744–45.

98.84 διεξοδικά 'detailed', see Plb. 12,25^{b}4, Plut. *Fab.* 6, not in Psellos (who uses, however, διεξοδεύω in *Scr. Min.* 435,29; 462,27) or Anna Comn.

98.90 It should be noticed that our author is spelling Τζιμισχής, (Glykas Τζιμισχῆς), whereas in Psellos' *Chron.* the spelling Τζιμισκῆς has been adopted. There is, however, much variety in the spelling of this name in the manuscripts, see e. g. Scyl. 267,76, *app. crit.*

98.91–100.4 Scyl. 271,63–72 ≈ Glyk. 569,22–570,9 enumerate a number of towns and fortresses conquered by Nikephoros: Anabarza, Adana, Mopsuestia (Glyk. mentions also the other name of Mopsuestia = Mamista), Tarsos, Pagra(s), Synnephion, Laodicea, Aleppo. He made tributary the Phoenician Tripolis and Damascus. For the appellation οὐρανόπολις qualifying Antioch, see Ecl. Eccl. Hist. ed. Cramer 110,9; 320,26, where it is said that Antioch, being rebuilt (by Justinian) after an earthquake, received a new name: Uranopolis. According to Procopius *Aed.* II 10,2; V 5,1; V 9,29 the name became Theoupolis.
On Ῥάμηλε (Ῥάμαλε) = Ramle, near Jerusalem, see Honigmann *Ostgrenze* p. 99.

100.4 τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ... ἐπικράτειαν, cf. Psellos *Mich. IV*, XXXIX 3: μέρος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας γενόμενον.

100.5–9 A similar reasoning can be found in Anon. Sath. 155,17 ff.: Μετὰ δὲ τὸ βασιλεῦσαι οὐ πρὸς τρυφὰς ἀπεῖδεν ὡς οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνέσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ δὶς καὶ τρὶς καὶ τετράκις ἐκστρατεύσας μεγάλα τινὰ καὶ ἐξαίσια ἐνεδείξατο τρόπαια, ...

100.7–8 διαναπαύεσθαι. Not in Psellos. In Anna Comn. three times: I 110,7; 194,19; II 287,15.

100.8–9 τὰ μὲν διαταττόμενος, e. g. Zon. III 501,9: κατὰ Κιλικίας δέ (...) ἐκπέμπει ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννην μάγιστρον τὸν Τζιμισκήν, ..., cf. Scyl. 267,74–76.

100.9–12 The clause requires a main verb either with ἀθώπευτος – θηρώμενος or with ἐξογκῶν etc.

100.9 ἀθώπευτος. Neither in Psellos, nor in Anna Comn.
For this side of his character, see e. g. Leo Diac. 89,25: ἀπαρεγχείρητον ἐβούλετο πρὸς ἁπάντων συντηρεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρετήν, καὶ μὴ παραχαράττεσθαι τὴν τοῦ δικαίου ἀκρίβειαν, cf. *ibid.* 49,11. See also *ibid.* 89,18–19 ἀκολάκευτος ἡδοναῖς.

100.10 ἀπειρόκαλος 'tasteless', 'vulgar': Plato *Lg.* 775 b etc. Used by Psellos *Const. IX*, CLVII 7.

100.11 κατορχούμενος. The classic signification of κατορχεῖσθαι is 'dance in triumph over one', 'treat despitefully' (LSJ), 'perform an insulting dance'. It is said by Hdt. III 151,1: οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι κατωρχέοντο καὶ κατέσκωπτον Δαρεῖον 'the B. danced and sneered in order to insult Darius'. It is this signification that Psellos (not his translator Renauld!) had in mind in *Const. IX*, CX 16, where Macedonians perform insulting songs and dances. It will be clear that this signification is impossible here; so are the other significations mentioned in LSJ. Here is meant something like "dissipate", an understandable but new signification.

100.14 εἴσω συννενευκώς. The same expression in Psellos *Mich. VII*, XV 2.
νενηφώς. Again a neologism. Though classic language does not know other forms than pres./impf., aor. of this verb, a pf. partic. νενηφώς = νήφων seems to me far from improbable. There rises an interesting question. In Psellos *Bas. II*, VII 2 the ms. (P) reads συνενηφώς speaking of Bardas Skleros). Renauld follows Kurtz's conjecture συννενεφώς (συννενοφώς would be more correct). In the light of this passage in the *Historia Syntomos* the emendation should be reconsidered.

100.15 The form ἐμβοηθῆσθαι of the ms. is impossible, but σφοδρός and γλαφυρός being contrasts, it is obvious that in its place must have been written something opposite to χαριεντίσασθαι. Besides, the ending can hardly be a perfect infinitive ending. Derivations from ἐμβοᾶν, ἐμ-

βόημα, ἐμβόησις lead, in my opinion, to a deadlock, though opposites like 'subtly joking' and 'frighteningly shouting (in battle)' (cf. e. g. Psellos *Bas. II*, VII 8–9 κἂν πόρρωθεν ἐπεβόησεν, ὅλην συνετάραττε φάλαγγα as a quality of Bardas Skleros) are well enough imaginable. Long consideration brought me to ἐμβριθεῖσθαι, with, indeed, a minimum of changes: ο > ρ, η > ι, η > ει, but resulting in an unproved infinitive of a verb derived from ἐμβριθής. This adjective ἐμβριθής and the substantive ἐμβρίθεια, however, have the right connotation, as can been seen from e. g. Anna Comn. II 225,11, describing Bohemond, whose βλέμμα γλαυκὸν καὶ ἅμα θυμὸν καὶ ἐμβρίθειαν ὑποσημαῖνον, or Psellos *Const. X*, XVI 4–5: καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀδικοῦσι γενόμενος ἐμβριθής, τοῖς δὲ ἀδικουμένοις χαριέστατός τε καὶ εὐμενής· ... For verbs in -εῖν, -εῖσθαι deriving from composite -σ- stems (ἀμελεῖν < ἀμελής etc.) see Debrunner, *Gr. Wortbildungslehre* § 196. For -εῖν x -εῖσθαι, see *ibid.* § 197. The signification of ἐμβριθεῖσθαι must be 'to be earnest', 'to be stiff'.

100.17 For ἀλόγιστος φορά, see Procl. *in Parmen.* p. 547 S.

100.19 κουροπαλάτην: see Leo Diac. 49,7 Λέοντα δέ, τὸν ἴδιον σύναιμον, κουροπαλάτην καὶ Μάγιστρον προβάλλεται, see also Anon. Sath. 155,13 ff. On the role of Leo in the connection between Nikephoros and Joh. Tzimiskes see also Zon. III 516,14–517,3.

100.21–22 From Zon. III 516,15 ... ὅτι τῷ ἀδελφῷ (= Leo) πειθόμενος ἐκεῖνος (= Nikephoros) βασκαίνοντι τούτῳ (= Tzimiskes), it is clear that it is Leo's jealousy which makes Nicephoros take action against Tzimiskes. Hence the adjective μεστός should agree with the subject ὁ Λέων. The object of ὑπεβλέπετο (for ὑποβλέπομαι cp. Psellos *Rom. IV*, VIII 8, *ibid.* XVIII 3) is to be understood from the context.

100.25 The form κακῶσθαι of the ms. should be emended to κακῶσαι. The alternative καὶ κακῶσθαι > κεκακῶσθαι can hardly be considered, because προαιρέομαι is not construed with *a.c.i.*

100.29–30 τῶν ... φροντίδων ἐγένετο. For this construction see Renauld, *Et.* 149, Plut. *Phoc.* 23,5 φασὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐλπίδος μεγάλης γενομένην ἑορτάζειν ...

100.31 ὑπέκκαυμα, cp. Anna Comn. II 3,12; not in Psellos, who uses, however, the verb ὑπεκκαίω *Const. IX*, CLXXXV 10, *ibid.* CLXXXVIII 7.

102.37 οἷον ἀγαλματίας 'like a statue, beautiful as one': Philostr. *V. S.* 2,25,6; not in Psellos or Anna Comn.

102.39 ἐγκυμονεῖν ἔρωτα: also in Psellos *Const. IX*, CXLV 9–10, *Mich. VI*, VI 5.

102.52 It will be clear that the reading of the ms. contains a mistake: only the lion can be the subject of ἀντιλαμβάνεται. There are several parallel passages, of which I have quoted one in *app. font. ad* 49–53, that make apparent the situation: there the lion has been mentioned first, attacking the bull and forcing him to turn his head by grasping his left horn with his left claw. In the same way Anna Comn. I 137,8–14 ... ὃ καὶ Βουκολέων ἐπονομάζεται ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε. καὶ γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τῶν τούτου τειχῶν λιμὴν δι' ἐγχορήγου καὶ μαρμάρων πάλαι τῶν χρόνων ᾠκοδόμητο, ὅπου ὁ λίθινος λέων ζωγρεῖ τὸν βοῦν. ἔχεται γὰρ τοῦ κέρως τοῦ βοός, καὶ ἐξαυχενίσας αὐτόν, ἐμφύεταί πως τῷ λαιμῷ. ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ Βουκολέων ὁ τόπος ὅλος ὠνόμασται, ... See also Leo Diac. 87,8–9 ... ἵνα ὁ λίθινος λέων τὸν ταῦρον ζωγρεῖ (Βουκολέοντα τὸν τόπον κέκληκεν ἡ συνήθεια)· ..., Scyl. 11,71–73 ... εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐρχομένη, ἐν ᾧ βοῦς τε καὶ λέων ἵδρυνται λίθινοι (κἀκ τούτων ἔχει τὴν προσηγορίαν ὁ τόπος Βουκολέων ὀνομαζόμενος), ... The same statues again in Anna Comn. I 334,19 sqq. ... ἀφορῶν ... πρὸς τὸν λιμένα, οὗπερ οἱ πέτρινοι βόες καὶ οἱ λέοντες, ... Starting from the name βουκολέων there is some sense to the fact that in our text the bull (βοῦς) has been mentioned first. If this is correct, one should read βοῦς (or βοὸς) ⟨ᾧ⟩ ἐπιβὰς λέων τις. The dropping out of the relative ᾧ caused the corruption, whereafter the construction required an adaptation of λέων τις > λέοντι.

102.54 γύργαθόν τε (according to Hdn. Gr. 1,145 the word is oxytonon, whereas the mss. generally accent proparoxytonon): the word not elsewhere in Psellos or Anna Comn. Leo Diac. 87,11, Scyl. 279,3, Glyk. 573,3 use the word κόφινος. Zon. III 517,12 has yet another term: σαργάνη (Paulus escapes in a σαργάνη, *2 Kor. 33*!); cp. also Anon. Sath. 256,30 διὰ σαργάνης ἀνιμηθείς.
καλῴδιον: the same word in Leo Diac. 87,12 κόφινον καλῳδίοις ἐξῃρημένον.

102.55–56 τινας τῶν θεραπαινῶν ... ἐφεστηκυίας. I have emended this passage in accordance to the most directly parallel text, Zonaras *l. c.*, who writes ἀνιμᾶται παρὰ θεραπαινῶν τῆς Θεοφανοῦς. After the (obvious) corruption of τῶν θεραπαινῶν into θεραπόντων there followed some others: ἐφεστηκυίας was connected with τῆς βασιλίδος, ἐπιδεικνυμένους with τοὺς βραχίονας. The corruption of τινας into τινες can be explained by the fact that the parenthese ἣν ... μεσαίτατον obscured the connection with the preceding passage.

102.56 ἀνιμᾶσθαι: cf. Leo Diac. 87,13 ἀνιμήσαντο, Scyl. 279,3 ἀνιμήσατο, Zon. III 517,12 ἀνιμᾶται, Anon. Sath. 256,30 ἀνιμηθείς.
The ms. has ἀνιμῆσαι, which can only be a perfect form. A perfect is in this context highly improbable.

102.59 ὁ μελάγχρους ... Θεόδωρος: see Zon. III 518,1 ... καὶ ὁ μελάγχρους Θεόδωρος, ὃν διὰ τὸ τοῦ εἴδους μελάντερον ἐκάλουν Ἀτζυποθεόδωρον, ...

ἀνά τε ἐπήδησε: a striking example of tmesis, on the pattern of Hdt. I 66,1 ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν, VII 156,2 αἱ δὲ παραυτίκα ἀνά τε ἔδραμον καὶ ἔβλαστον, etc.

102.64—66 It should be noticed that no other source (Leo Diac., Scyl., Glyk., Zon., Anon. Sath.) makes mention of such a bargain. In Zon. III 520,16 ff. Tzimiskes defends himself before the patriarch by saying that he did not murder Nikephoros with his own hands; the same in Scyl. 285,29.

102.67 χαμεύνης: cp. Zon. III 518,4—5 εὗρον τὸν Νικηφόρον χαμαιεύνην ὑπνώττοντα.

104.78—79 ὧν ... ἔδει: the reading of the ms. seems to be corrupt. In any case ἐπειπόντως poses a big problem. Adverbs made from participles are, indeed, not uncommon, see e. g. Renauld, *Et.* 388—389. Even adverbs made from secondary aorist participles occur, but, as far as I know, nowhere from εἰπών. In texts of Psellos there are no examples of adverbs created from aorist participles (see Renauld, *l. c.*). But if the possibility nevertheless be accepted, this adverb can have no other function than that of being a second adjunct of ἤκουσε. Κακῶς τε καὶ ἐπειπόντως ἀκούειν has to signify, then, something like 'to have a bad reputation due to slander'. An obstacle, however, is formed by the factual presence of two objects of ἤκουσε: ὧν and ὅσα οὐκ ἔδει. Replacing ἐπειπόντως by another adverb as e. g. ἐπιπόνως or ἀπρεπόντως (if acceptable) meets with the same obstacle. I have therefore searched for another solution, namely a verbal form, parallel to ἤκουσε. The most obvious possibility is ἐπεπόνθει, to which the object clause ὅσα οὐκ ἔδει can easily be connected.

Another problem, in my opinion, is the relative ὧν, which only seems to be acceptable as a loose construction expressing something like δι' ἅς, as in Zon. III 518,11 ὁ δὲ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτὸν ἠρώτα δι' ἃς κεκάκωτο παρ' αὐτοῦ. This passage also shows a discrepancy between the παρ' αὐτῶν of our text and the (more obvious) παρ' αὐτοῦ of Zonaras. Kambylis taking this παρ' αὐτοῦ as a starting-point and adapting ἐπειπόντως into ἐπειπόντος proposes the following emendation: τὰς αἰτίας, ὧν παρ' αὐτοῦ κακῶς γε ἤκουσε [καὶ] ἐπειπόντος ὅσα οὐκ ἔδει.

104.84—85 These words remind in a way of what has been written on Nikephoros' sarcophagus by John, metropolitan of Melitene, quoted in a number of mss. of Scylitzes-Cedrenus (see ed. Thurn, 282,64—91): 66/67 ὃς τῷ κράτει πρὶν γῆς ὅλης εἶχε κράτος,/ὥσπερ μικρὸς γῆς μικρὸν ᾤκησε μέρος.

104.85 οὐκ οἶδα ἀνθ' ὅτου: Zon. III 519,2—4 gives the answer: the murderers show the head they cut off in order to break the resistance of

the bodyguard. The same also in Leo Diac. 90,22—91,3, Scyl. 280,24—25, Glyk. 573,14—15. Our author has this scene take place later, at daybreak (104,91—93).

104.89—91 According to Zon. III 520,7—8 Leo Phokas and his son were banished to Lesbos, cp. Leo Diac. 96,2—6, Scyl. 284,11—12 (the son to Imbros); they were blinded (really or seemingly) later: Zon. III 525,8—16, cf. 538,3—14; see also Leo Diac. 114,15—16, 145,9—19.

104.93—1 Factually the same, but more sober account in Leo Diac. 91,6—13.

104.3 πέντε μῆνας ἀμφὶ πέντε ἐνιαυτούς. A striking inaccuracy. Leo Diac. 89,14—15 gives the correct figures: six years and four months, in fact from 16-8-963 until 10-12-969. Zon. III 519,9—10 mentions six years and six months, six and a half years in Anon. Sath. 155,13, six years in Glyk. 568,10—11.

104.4 ff. (§ 106) One of the mysteries of this text: a chapter on John Tzimiskes has been omitted, though it has been announced in 100.4—5. There is no obvious reason. The transition from the chapter on Nikephoros to the one on Basil II occurs in the ms. in the middle of the page, without any token of an omission. Its omission can only be explained by supposing that at an earlier stage of the transmission this chapter took a full page, which dropped out. As will be seen from the further annotations, there is in several passages a clear resemblance with Psellos' *Chronography,* whereas the relationship with e. g. Zonaras and/or Scylitzes fades to the background.

104.5—11 Zon. III 569,3—4 puts his lifetime at seventy-two and his reign at fifty years (unless one should read Ζήσας μὲν καὶ βασιλεύσας χρόνους ἑβδομήκοντα ἐπὶ δυσίν, αὐταρχήσας δὲ ⟨δύο⟩ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεσι); Scyl. 369,15—16 allots seventy and fifty years to his life and reign respectively, Glyk. 575,20 mentions a fifty years' reign.

106.20—24 Similar characteristics, though expressed in different wordings, can be found in the descriptions of Bardas Skleros and Bardas Phokas in Psellos *Bas. II* cap. V and VII. It should be noticed that our author introduces them in reversed order.

106.25—29 The scene of the duel comes nearest to Psellos *Bas. II* cap. VIII. The duel also in Zon. III 545,2—19. Zon. gives two versions of the first blow, dealt by Skleros: either he hit the head of his adversary with a club or chopped off the ear of his horse. This latter version in Scyl. 326,1—10, where, besides, the duel takes place during the battle.

106.26 μεσαίχμιον. The same form of this word in Hesychius (see LSJ.) Psellos in the *Chron.* always uses the common μεταίχμιον, though ms. P has once μεσαίχμιον (*Mich. VI*, XXIV 35).

106.30–34 Without any transition our author passes on to the revolt of Bardas Phokas against Basil II. This passage also has closer resemblance with Psellos, *Bas. II* cap. XVI, 11–17; 19–23. See also Zon. III 553,5–554,1, Scyl. 337,10–27.

106.33 ὥς φησιν. If the text is correct (see *app. crit.*), the subject must be Basil, to be taken from παρὰ τούτου. Renauld, *Et.* does not mention any instance of φησί = φασί in Psellos.

106.34–35 On the truce with Skleros, see Scyl. 338,57 ff., Zon. III 556,2 ff.

106.37–42 Cp. Psellos *Bas. II*, III espec. 6–16, Zon. III 539,1–7, Scyl. 284,2–9. See also Glyk. 575,21–22.

106.42 ὕστερον δὲ ἀπεώσατο, see Psellos *Bas. II*, XIX, 15–20, Zon. III 554,9–16.

106.43–46 On the relation between Basil II and Constantine VIII see Zon. III 555,9–16, Psellos *Bas. II*, II.

108.47–48 The construction as it stands is highly improbable, if not impossible. After παρὰ a person is to be expected. In Psellos *Chron.* καθίζειν in combination with the idea θρόνος is always followed by ἐπὶ, 4 times with gen., once with acc. (*Rom. III*, XX 5). I read: παρά τε⟨ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ⟩ τὸν εὐώνυμον θρόνον καθίζων, but perhaps one should write: παρά τέ ⟨οἱ ἐπὶ⟩ τὸν εὐώνυμον θρόνον καθίζων, supposing a dislocation of the οἱ before καὶ in line 6. Reflexive οἱ does occur in Psellos (*Scr. Min.* I 21,4), though seldom: cf. Böhlig, *Unters.* 58. Renauld, *Et.* does not even mention this reflexive pronoun.

108.54 παιδικά. His childish pleasures lasted until old age, cf. Zon. III 569,7 ff.! See also Psellos *Const. VIII*, VIII, Scyl. 370,24–25.

108.58 Σκύθας. Meant are the Bulgarians, as in Psellos *Mich. IV*, XLIII 18, cf. *Bas. II*, XXXI 10. This is the only allusion to the adversaries, who furnished Basil II with his atrocious nick-name. As to the western part of the empire: Glyk. 577,14–16 mentions a revolt in Italy, struck down by a general Meles; an expedition to Sicily was prevented by the emperor's death: Glyk. 579,10–12, Scyl. 368,82–87, Zon. 568,9–11.
Though 108.55–59 briefly summarize Basil's activities, it is not very probable that these lines formed the end of the chapter on Basil and Constantine, still less that they were the end of the whole *Historia Syntomos*.

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Γρηγόριος (2) ὁ θεολόγος: Gregorius Nazianzenus (329/330–ca. 390), primarius inter episcopos Concilii secundi in Cpoli habiti (381) *42*,65; *46*,20/21.24.30
Γυγάνιος: T. Geganius Macerinus, consul romanus an. 492[a] *10*,56

Δαβίδ, ὁ: rex Israel (cf. I Reg. 16,11 sqq.) *26*,58
Δαμασκός, ἡ: Damascus, urbs Syriae *62*,37; *98*,95
Δέκιος: C. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius, imperator Romanorum 249–251, persecutor christianorum *28*,85.88
Δίδιος, Ἰουλιανός ὁ: Imp. Caes. M. Decius Severus Julianus Aug. imperator Romanorum an. 193 *22*,87.88; (*24*,2)
Δίκη, ἡ: Iustitia (personificata) *44*,75
Δίκορος vide s.v. Ἀναστάσιος (2)
Διοκλητιανός: C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus, imperator Romanorum 284–305 *34*,13.22; *44*,72. οἱ Διοκλητιανοί: imperatores ut Diocletianus *28*,89
Διονύσιος: Dionysius (II), tyrannus Syracusarum 367–344[a], qui multos perfamosos viros doctos et artifices circa se habebat *94*,14
Διόσκορος: Patriarcha Alexandriae † 454, doctrinae Monophysitarum adhaerens, condemnatus in Concilio Chalcedonensi (451) *50*,79
Δίων ὁ Χρυσὸς τὴν γλῶτταν: Dio, cognomine ‚Chrysostomus‘ ornatus, rhetor famosus Traiano regnante. Vixit ±40 – ±111 *20*,26
Δομετιανός: Imp. Caes. Domitianus Aug., imp. Rom. 81–96 *18*,92.2.3.9

Εἰρήνη: Irene, uxor Leonis IV *80*,53, mater Constantini VI et imperatrix *80*,60.61.64; *82*,71, cui Nicephorus, Leonis frater, successit *82*,74. A Nicephoro relegata in Principis insulam *82*,77
Εἰσδιγέρδης vide s.v. Ἰσδιγέρδης
Ἑλένη (1): uxor prior Constantii, ex qua genuit Constantinum magnum *34*,26
Ἑλένη (2): Romani I Lacapeni filia, Constantini VII uxor *92*,69
ἑλλάς: ἡ ἑλλὰς γλῶσσα lingua Graeca *10*, 70
Ἕλλην, ὁ: Graecus, i.e. paganus *22*,61; *40*, 17

Ἕλληνες, οἱ: Graeci, nomen ethnicum *2*,6

ἑλληνίζω: Graecus, i.e. paganus esse *18*,14; *38*,67

ἑλληνικός: ἡ ἑλληνικὴ διάλεκτος lingua Graeca *6*,10; ἡ ἑλληνικὴ σοφία sapientia Graecorum *52*,39

ἑλλήνιος: οἱ ἑλλήνιοι θεοί dei Graeci *16*,52

Ἑλληνισμός: paganismus *40*,20/21

ἑλληνιστί: graece, in lingua Graeca *10*,76

Ἑρκούλιος vide s.v. Μαξιμιανός

Εὐγενία: martyr christiana, quam noster iniuria filiam Philippi imperatoris Romanorum fuisse dicit *28*,79. (Martyria eius in eccl. orthod. celebratur 24 Dec.)

Εὔξεινος πόντος: Pontus Euxinus *64*,51

Εὐσέβιος: Eusebius, Nicomediae episcopus post 318, defensor Arianae doctrinae *36*, 62

Εὐτυχής: Eutyches, abbas Constantinopolitanus adhaesionis monophysiticarum doctrinarum causa damnatus in Consilio Chalcedonensi (451) *50*,79.81

Εὐτυχιανός: Eutychianus, cuius actu Avitus = Elagabalus imperator Romanorum proclamatus est *24*,28

Ἔφεσος: Ephesus *18*,16; *28*,1

Ζεύξιππον: τὸ Ζεύξιππον λοετρόν/λουτρόν Thermae in Cpoli prope forum, cui nomen Augusteum *24*,8; *76*,59

Ζήνων: Zeno, imperator byz. 474—475 et 476—491. Quem noster iniuria filium Leonis I vocat (pro: generum) *50*,95. Pater Leonis II *50*,95. A patre (i.e. socero) praeteritur imperio *50*,1, a filio imperator designatur *50*,14. Imperat *52*,20.26

Ἠλίας: ὁ Θεσβίτης Ἠλίας Elias propheta IV Reg. 1,3 et sqq. *88*,85

Ἡράκλειος (1): imp. byz. 610—641. A Crispo patricio, affini Phocae, Heraclius ex Africa evocatus, ut Phocam tyrannum imperio spoliet (revera Heraclius pater imperatoris futuri Heraclii tunc exarcha Carthaginis erat) *62*,14, cum classe Cpolim petit et Phocam comprehendit *62*,18. Imperator *62*,36; *62*,42.47/48.62; *66*,68. 73.74.80.82. 83.89.90.95.1.2.6; *68*,12/13

Ἡράκλειος (2): Frater minor Constantini IV imperatoris byz. *68*,43/*70*,44

Ἡρακλωνᾶς: Heraclonas filius Heraclii imperatoris ex Martina fratris eius filia *66*, 70. Imperator factus per facinora Martinae matris *66*,89; imperator byz. an. 741 *66*,95.5. Lingua eius excisa *68*,9 (revera nares eius erant desectae, Martinae autem erat excisa lingua).

Ἡρώδης: Herodes Agrippa, tetrarcha Iudaeae Claudio imperatore *12*,18. Vide et s.v. Ἀγρίππας (in textu nostro duo, ut videtur, personae indicati sunt: Herodes et Agrippa).

Θεοδόσιος (1): Theodosius I Magnus, imperator Romanorum 379—395 *44*,3.6; *46*, 12.23.31.39

Θεοδόσιος (2): Theodosius II, Arcadii filius, imperator Romanorum 408—450. Sub protectione Isdigerdis, regis Persarum, positus *46*,43; *48*,47; imperator *48*, 53.65.69

Θεοδόσιος (3): Theodosius III, imp. byz. 715—717 *76*,87; *78*,92.94.1.2.4.8.18

Θεοδώρα (1): filia Maximiani, uxor Constantii, Constantini Magni patris *34*,23.26

Θεοδώρα (2): uxor Theophili imperatoris, mater Michaelis III *86*,44/45.56.57

Θεόδωρος: ὁ μελάγχρους τὴν ὄψιν. Adiuvat Ioannem Tsimiscem in conspiratione contra Nicephorum *102*,59

Θεοφανώ (1): uxor Stauracii, Nicephori I filii *82*,92

Θεοφανώ (2): uxor Romani II *94*,4/5; *96*, 50; *98*,59; imperatrix una cum filiis Basilio et Constantino *98*,60.62. Favet Tsimisci *98*,70, nubit autem Nicephoro Phocae, quem odisse coepit *100*,34. Cum Tsimisce coniurationem facit contra Nicephorum, cuius vitae autem vult parcere *102*,65. Ut in scaena eiulat Nicephorum trucudatum esse audiens *104*,86/87, mitigatur autem a Tsimisce *104*,88.

Θεόφιλος: Michaelis II Amorrhaei filius *84*, 35. Imp. byz. (829—842) *86*,43.44.56.72

Θεσβίτης vide s.v. Ἠλίας

Θεσσαλονίκη: Thessalonica, urbs Macedoniae *68*,21.23/24; *78*,93

Θρᾴκη: Thracia *20*,38

Θρᾳκικός, -ή, -όν: αἱ Θρᾳκικαὶ πύλαι. Porta Thracica in muro Byzantii a Sept. Severo aedificato *24*,5

Θρᾷξ: Thrax, nomen ethnicum *44*,77; *54*, 53

Ἰάκωβος (1): frater Domini, episcopus primus Hierosolymorum *12*,95; *14*,35

Ἰάκωβος (2): frater Ioannis, ab Herode Agrippa necatus *12*,19
Ἰβηρία: Iberia, Hispania *46*,13
Ἰγνάτιος: ὁ θεοφόρος Ἰγνάτιος. Tertius fuit episcopus Antiochiae, a Traiano damnatus ad bestias *20*,31
Ἱεροκλῆς: cinaedus quidam Elagabali *26*,38
Ἱεροσόλυμα, τά: Hierosolyma *12*,95; *14*,35
Ἰοβιανός: Flavius Jovianus, imperator Romanorum an. 363/364 *38*,1; *40*,14.23
Ἰουδαία, ἡ: Judaea *12*,9; *16*,76
Ἰουδαῖος: Iudaeus, nomen ethnicum *14*,36
Ἰουλία: filia Numitoris rex Albanorum, mater Romuli primi regis Romae *2*,8
Ἰουλιανός (1): Ἰουλιανός ὁ Δίδιος, vide s. v. Δίδιος
Ἰουλιανός (2): Julianus Apostata = Flavius Claudius I Aug., imperator Romanorum 361—363. Caesar sub Constantio Constantini Magni filio *38*,65.66.70.75. Imperator *38*,84; *40*,14.20
Ἰούλιος vide s.v. Καῖσαρ
Ἰουστινιανός (1): Justinianus I, imp. byz. 527—565 *54*,65; *56*,90.91.11.13
Ἰουστινιανός (2): Justinianus II, imp. byz. 685—695 et 705—711 *70*,63; *72*,77; *74*, 27 (ὁ καὶ Ῥινότμητος).33.38.49
Ἰουστινιανός (3): pater Germani futuri patriarchae Cpoleos, necatus a Constantino IV *70*,55
Ἰουστῖνος (1) ὁ Θρᾷξ ὁ μέγας: Justinus I, imp. byz. 518—527 *54*,53
Ἰουστῖνος (2): Justinus II, imp. byz. 565—578 *54*,85; *56*,10; *58*,37
Ἰσαυρία: Isauria, regio Asiae *78*,95.15
Ἴσαυρος: Isaurus, nomen ethnicum *78*,21. 22
Ἰσδιγέρδης: rex Persarum, protegit Theodosium Arcadii filium *46*,44
Ἱσπανία: Hispania *44*,3; explicata ut urbs Iberiae *46*,12
Ἴστρος: Ister fluvius, cui hodiernum nomen Donau *28*,10; *74*,34
Ἰταλία: Italia *2*,11; *28*,10; *36*,44
Ἰωάννης (1): Ioannes evangelista *12*,19; *18*, 15
Ἰωάννης (2) ὁ Τζιμισχής: Ioannes Tsimisces, strategus et imp. byz. 969—976 *98*, 68.69.89/90; *100*,4/5.22; *102*,37.47.63.65; *104*,74.88.2.9
Ἰώσηπος: Flavius Iosephus, historicus Judaeus *16*,78
Καῖσαρ (1): C. Julius Caesar *6*,85; *10*,62.64. 68.70.75
Καῖσαρ (2): Ὀκτάβιος Αὔγουστος Καῖσαρ = Augustus, imperator primus Romanorum *10*,74
Καῖσαρ (3): Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ vide s.v. Τιβέριος
Καλλίνικος: patriarcha Cpoleos Leontio imperatore. A Justiniano II luminibus et pontificatu orbatus *74*,44
Καλουσηνοί, οἱ: incolae Clusii, urbis Etruriae *8*,27
Καλχηδών, (ms. Καρχ-; vide et Χαλκηδών): Chalcedo, urbs Asiae ad Bosporum sita *42*,59; *64*,39
Κανδάκης, ὁ: Candaces (sic). A Philippo apostolo baptizatur (cf. Act. Apost. 8,27 ubi eunuchus Candaces reginae baptizatur). *12*,1
Καπιτώλιον: collis Romae, in quo templum Iovis Capitolini *18*,20
Καππαδοκία: Cappadocia, regio Asiae inter Ancyram et Tauri montes sita *64*,38
Καρῖνος: Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Carinus Aug. 282—285 *34*,1.5
Κάρος vide s.v. Μάρος
Καρχηδών vide s.v. Καλχηδών
Κασία: poëtria byzantina, IX[1] saec., quae coniugii petitioni Theophili imperatoris adfuisse dicitur *86*,46
Κάσσιος: C. Cassius Longinus, qui an. 44 una cum M. Junio Bruto occidit Caesarem *10*,71/72
Κελτός: Gallus, nomen ethnicum *20*,25
Κιλικία: Cilicia, regio Asiae inter Pamphyliam et Syriam sita *98*,93
Κιντίλιος: M. Aurelius C. Quintillus, Claudii Gothici frater et designatus ut ei succedat in imperio 270. Quem Aureliano imperatore proclamato necaverunt sui milites. Miror quod noster regnum Quintilli post Aurelianum posuit *32*,58
Κλαύδιος (1): Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug. Germanicus Imperator quartus Romanorum 41—54 *12*,10.13; *14*,25
Κλαύδιος (2): M. Aurelius Valerius Claudius Aug. = Claudius Gothicus, imperator Romanorum 268—270 *30*,34
Κλεόπας vide s.v. Συμεών
Κλήμης ὁ Στρωματεύς: Ti. Flavius Clemens Alexandrinus, philosophus christianus 150—±215 *28*,94

Κολλατῖνοι, οἱ: incolae Collatiae, urbis antiquae Latii *4*,51/52
Κολλατῖνος: L. Tarquinius Collatinus, primus consul cum L. Junio Bruto an. 509[a] *6*,89.95
Κόμοδος: imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Commodus Antonius Aug., imperator Romanorum 180–192 *22*,65.76.78
Κοπρώνυμος: vide s.v. Κωνσταντῖνος (5)
Κρήτη, ἡ: Creta insula *96*,28
Κρίσπος: Crispus, alibi Priscus, maritus filiae Phocae et comes excubitorum in Cpoli. Vocat Heraclium Africae exarcham in Cpolim contra Phocam *62*,13
Κρόνος: Saturnus deus, cui templum Romae consecratum *10*,54
Κρουστουμερῆνοι, οἱ: Incolae Crustumerii, oppidi Etrusci *4*,51
Κτησιφῶν, ἡ: Urbs Babyloniae, a Caro imperatore capta *34*,3
Κυπριανός: Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, rhetor christianus et episcopus Carthaginis. Martyr an. 258 *28*,95
Κύριος: Dominus Jesus Christus *10*,81; *12*, 88.93.95; *14*,36; Dominus Deus *60*,92; *62*,5; *104*,80
Κωνσταντῖνα: Constantina Tiberii II filia, nuptum data Mauricio *58*,45
Κωνσταντῖνος (1) ὁ Μέγας: Constantinus Magnus, imp. byz. 324–337 *30*,35.37; *34*,26; *36*,29.49.50.58; *38*,77.85.93. ἡ Κωνσταντίνου sc. πόλις *88*,87. τὴν Κωνσταντίνου sc. πόλιν *68*,16/17
Κωνσταντῖνος (2): Constantini Magni filius *36*,42.46
Κωνσταντῖνος (3): Constantinus III, imp. byz. an. 641 *66*,82.93.6; *68*,11.12
Κωνσταντῖνος (4): Constantinus IV, imp. byz. 668–685 *68*,38; *70*,52.63
Κωνσταντῖνος (5) ὁ Κοπρώνυμος: Constantinus V, cognominatus ‚Cabalinus' studii Iconoclasiae causa, imp. byz. 741–775 *78*,39; *80*,33.37
Κωνσταντῖνος (6): Constantinus VI, imp. byz. 780–797 *80*,53. Cum matre Irene regnat *80*,60.61; *82*,65.71. Matre iubente luminibus orbatus *82*,67
Κωνσταντῖνος (7): Constantinus Basilii I ex Maria uxore priore filius, cuius imaginem pater mortui vivam sibi monstrandam iubet *88*,89
Κωνσταντῖνος (8): Constantinus VII, Leonis VI filius, imp. byz. 913–959 *90*,35. 42; *92*,55.55/56.68.78.84; *94*,90.92.2.19
Κωνσταντῖνος (9): Constantinus, Romani I Lacapeni filius *92*,74
Κωνσταντῖνος (10): Constantinus VIII, frater Basilii II, post quem regnat 1025–1028 *96*,51.54; *98*,60.81; *100*,33; *104*,4; *106*,43; *108*,53/54
Κωνσταντινούπολις: Constantinopolis *38*, 79; *46*,18.21/22.25; *48*,55; *54*,73; *70*,56; *80*,62
Κωνστάντιος (1): Constantius, Claudii II Gothici filius, ut dicit noster *30*,36; *34*, 23.24
Κωνστάντιος (2): Constantius, Constantini Magni filius et successor. Regnat 337–361 *36*,44.48.58.64; *38*,67
Κώνστας (1): Constans I, Constantini Magni filius et successor in parte occidentali, imp. Romanorum 337–350 *36*,43.47
Κώνστας (2): Constans II, imp. byz. 641–668 *68*,10.12.38.39; *70*,52

Λάκαπα, ἡ: Lacapa/Lecapa, vicus Armeniae, ubi natus est Romanus I Lacapenus *92*,66
Λακωνικός, -ή, -όν: Laconicus, ut erat solitum apud Spartanos *102*,47
Λαοδίκεια, ἡ: Urbs in litore Syriae sita, hodie Latakia *98*,94
Λάρος vide s.v. Πορσίην
Λατῖνοι, οἱ: Latini, nomen ethnicum *4*,42. 49
Λεόντιος: Leontius, imp. byz. 695–698. Patricius (et strategus thematis, c.n. Hellas) *70*,75; Imperator *72*,91.(3).5.8.11; *74*, 40
Λεύκιος vide s.v. Ταρκύνιος
Λέων (1) ὁ Μακέλλης: Leo I, imp. byz. 457–474 *50*,91.1.4.10
Λέων (2) ὁ μικρός: Leo II, Leontis I nepos, imp. byz. an. 474 *50*,95.9.10
Λέων (3) ὁ ἐξ Ἰσαυρίας: Leo III, imp. byz. 717–741. Strategus Orientis *78*,94.15; Imperator *78*,21; *80*,33
Λέων (4) ἐκ τῆς Χαζάρης: Leo IV, imp. byz. 775–780 *80*,47
Λέων (5) ὁ Ἀρμένιος: Leo V, imp. byz. 813–820. Strategus Orientis *84*,11; Imperator *84*,17.28.34
Λέων (6) ὁ σοφός: Leo VI, imp. byz. 886–912. Filius Basilii I, iniuste accusatus *88*,81/82. Imperator *88*,5; *90*,27.46; *92*,55. Philosophus dictus *88*,81

Λέων (7): Leo, philosophus byzantinus saec. IX, alibi et mathecaticus dictus *90*,12
Λέων (8): Leo, Nicephori Phocae frater *100*,19.21; *104*,90
Λεωνίδης: Leonidas, Origenis theologi pater *24*,10
Λιβύη, ἡ: Libya, regio Africae septentrionalis *62*,37
Λίβυς, ὁ: Libys, nomen ethnicum *30*,16
Λικίνιος: Valerius Licinianus Licinus, imperator Romanorum 308–324, imperii socius et adversarius Constantini Magni, cuius sororem in matrimonium duxerat *36*,32. Persecutor christianorum *44*,74
λίμνη vide s.v. Μαιῶτις
Λούκιος: Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus, filius adoptivus Galbae imperatoris an. 69[p] *14*,41
Λουκρήτιος: nomen gentile Romanorum
1. = Sp. Lucretius, consul cum P. Valerio an. 509[a], cf. Liv. II,8,4 *6*,3.4
2. = T. Lucretius, consul cum P. Valerio an. 508[a] et 505[a], cf. Liv. II 8,9, II 16,2 *8*,14; *10*,47
λουτρόν vide s.v. Ζεύξιππον

Μαγνέντιος: Flavius Magnentius, necat Constantem Constantini Magni filium et per usurpationem provincias occidentales imperat 350–353 *36*,47
Μαιῶτις λίμνη: Lacus Maeotis, cui nomen hodiernum ‚Sea of Azov‘, a septentrione Ponti Euxini *44*,77
Μακεδόνια: Macedonia *86*,62.69
Μακεδόνιος: Macedonius, cuius doctrina de operatione naturali Spiritus Sancti est condemnata in Synodo secunda *46*,19
Μακεδών: Macedo, nomen ethnicum *86*,69
Μακέλλης vide s.v. Λέων (1)
Μακρῖνος: imp. Caes. M. Opellius Severus Macrinus Aug., imperator Romanorum 217–218 *24*,18.24.30.31
Μαμαία: Julia Avita Mammaea, mater Severi Alexandri *26*,44.46
Μαξιμιανός (ὁ Ἑρκούλιος): Maximianus Herculius, socius imperii Diocletiani 286–310 *34*,19.22. Persecutor christianorum *44*,73. Οἱ Μαξιμιανοί: persecutores ut Maximianus *28*,89/90
Μαξιμῖνος: C. Julius Verus Maximinus = Maximinus Thrax, imperator Romanorum 235–238 *26*,57.68; *44*,72
Μάξιμος (1): M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus, imperator Romanorum an. 238, una cum Balbino (q.v.) *26*,65.67; *28*,71.72.73
Μάξιμος (2): ὁ Βρετανὸς Μάξιμος / Μάξιμος ὁ Βρετανός = Maximus Magnus, adversarius Gratiani et usurpator imperii 383–388, profligatus a Theodosio. Hispanus natu, comes Brittanniarum, ut videtur, fuit *44*,5; *46*,16
Μάξιμος (3): Maximus Confessor (580–662), theologus. Contra monophysitarum monotheletarumque doctrinas scripsit, quam ob rem animis in Cpoli infestis occurrit. Lingua manuque dextra orbatus mortuus est *68*,34
Μαρδασᾶς: filius Chosroïs II, quem Chosroës successioni destinavit, iura filii senioris Siroës neglegens. Siroës patrem et fratrem cepit necavitque *64*,60
Μαρκιανός: Marcianus, imp. byz. 450–457 *48*,68.78; *50*,93
Μάρκος (1): Marcus evangelista *14*,20
Μάρκος (2) Ἀντωνῖνος: Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, imperator Romanorum 161–180 *20*,51.55; *22*,65
Μάρκος (3) Ἄγκος: Ancus Marcius, rex quartus Romanorum *4*,38
Μάρκος (4) Μινέκιος: Marcus Minucius Augurinus, consul cum Aulo Sempronio Atratino an. 497[a]. Hi consules templum Saturno dedicaverunt et Saturnalia instituerunt *10*,54
Μάρκος (5) Ὁράτιος: Marcus Horatius Pulvillus. Post mortem Sp. Lucretii consul suffectus an. 509[a] *6*,6
Μάρος: sic in ms. pro Κάρος = Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Carus Aug., imperator Romanorum 282–283 *34*,1
Μαρτῖνα: uxor secunda et filia fratris Heraclii imperatoris, mater Heraclonae *66*,70. 88.2.5; *68*,9
Μαυρίκιος: Mauricius, imp. byz. 582–602. Post multas victorias gener Tiberii II factus *58*,44. Imperator *60*,64.70.77. Copias suas Persis in captivitatem tradit, redemptionem earum recusat, sed postea huius rei paenitet *60*,88. Punitur *60*,92.3; *62*,8. Corona eius aurea, quam Deo dedicaverat, a Leone (4) usurpata *80*,57
Μινέκιος: Minucius, nomen gentile apud Romanos
(1) vide s.v. Μάρκος (4) *10*,54

(2) Ποπλίκιος Μινέκιος = Publius Minucius Augurinus, frater Marci Minucii, consul an. 492ª *10*,56
Μιχαήλ (1) ὁ εὐσεβής: Michael I Rangabe, imp. byz. 811—813 *82*,93; *84*,4
Μιχαήλ (2) ὁ 'Αμορραῖος: Michael II, imp. byz. 820—829 *84*,23.29.30; *86*,43
Μιχαήλ (3): Michael III, imp. byz. 842—867 *86*,56.58.68.72; *88*,84; Leo VI non Basilii, sed Michaelis filius fuisse narratur *90*,26.27.29
Μιχαήλ (4): Michael archangelus *88*,85
μονή vide s.v. Σάτυρος
Μοῦσα: Musa. Una e novem Musis *2*,22
Μυσία: Mysia, regio Asiae prope Bithyniam. *20*,38
Μωάμεθ: Mohametus propheta Arabum *64*, 63

ναός vide s.v. 'Απόστολοι et Σοφία, ἡ 'Αγία
Νάρκισος: Narcissus, athleta quidem gratiosissimus apud Commodum. Strangulavit Commodum an. 192. (Secundum nostrum eum necavit per venenum) *22*,74
Ναρσῆς: Narses, eunuchus in aula Justiniani, post 530 praepositus sacri cubiculi, peritissimus dux exercitus *56*,17
Ναυάτος: Novatus, presbyter in ecclesia Africae septentrionalis temporibus Decii imperatoris. Incidit in controversiam de „lapsis", i.e. de Christianis, qui sub terroribus persecutionum Christum denegaverant. (Cf. Ecl. Hist. 289,4—5). Forsitan Novatum pro Novatiano scriptores Byzantini habuerint *28*,95
Νεμέτωρ: Numitor, rex Albanorum, Reae Silviae vel Iliae pater, avus Romuli et Remi *2*,8
Νέρβας (in ms. Γέρβας): Imp. Nerva Aug. imperator Romanorum 96—98 *18*,13.20
Νέρων: L. Domitius Ahenobarbus Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, imperator quintus Romanorum 54—68. Filius (adoptivus) Claudii *14*,25. Matrem et coniugem suam occidit *14*,27, eunuchum in matrimonium ducit *14*,28/29, Petrum et Paulum Apostolos necari iubet *14*,29/30, sibi mortem consciscit *14*,37. Domitianus eius mores aequat *18*,5
Νεστόριος: Nestorius, patriarcha Cpoleos 428—431, cuius nomine Nestoriani appellati sunt qui in natura Christi nonnisi coniunctionem moralem (συνάφεια σχετική) admiserunt, non autem hypostaticam (συνάφεια κατ' οὐσίαν). Haec doctrina est condemnata in Synodo Chalcedone habita an. 451 *50*,79.80
νῆσος, ἡ vide s.v. Πρίγκιπος
Νίκαια: Oppidum Bithyniae, hodie Iznik *36*,37; *78*,91
Νικηφόρος (1): Nicephorus I, imp. byz. 802—811 *82*,70.74.87.93
Νικηφόρος (2) Φωκᾶς: Nicephorus II Phocas, imp. byz. 963—969. In eo Romanus II unicam sibi spem videt ut rem publicam servet (*96*,29/30). Conversatio eius cum Romano *96*,34. Dux exercitus peritissimus *98*,67, cui honor imperatorius sit tribuendus *98*,70. Imperator *98*,75.79.82.89; *100*,5.28.32.36; *102*,39; *106*,15. Ioanni Tzimisci summum exercitus imperium adimit, ut ei officium civile det *102*,43—45; qui, indignatus, contra Nicephorum cum imperatrice conspirat ut eum ex imperio deiciant, sed vitae eius parcant *102*, 66; tamen humiliatur Nicephorus *104*,76 et necatur. Caput eius custodibus monstratur *104*,92/93. Basilius II ei comparatur *104*,9
Νικομήδεια: oppidum Bithyniae, hodie Izmit *36*,62
Νόμας: Numa Pompilius, rex secundus Romanorum *2*,20; *4*,39
Νουμεριανός: Numerianus, Cari imperatoris filius et nominatus imperator post patris mortem an. 283, ipse eodem anno a genero occisus *34*,1.2.5

Ὄθων: M. Salvius Otho, imperator Romanorum an. 69ᵖ *14*,42; *16*,50.63
'Οκτάβιος vide s.v. Αὔγουστος
'Ολυμπιάς: Olympias, spatium temporis quattuor annorum. Olympias 71ᵐᵃ = 492ª *10*,53
Ὅμηρος: Homerus poeta *32*,64
'Ονώριος: Flavius Honorius, imperator Romanorum 393—423 *46*,14.(22).38.41; (*48*, 46/47)
'Οράτιος vide s.v. Μάρκος (5)
Οὐάλης, gen. -εντος: Flavius Valens, imperator Romanorum *42*,57.67; *44*,94/95.1
[Οὐαλεντιανός: ms. ad *44*,94, ubi legendum Οὐαλεντινιανός]

Οὐαλεντινιανός: Flavius Valentinianus, imperator Romanorum 364–375 *42*,39; *44*, 87.94

Οὐαλέριος: Publius Valerius, cui cognomen Publicola; saepius consul factus primis rei publicae romanae temporibus. Nomen eius addidi in titulis capitum 10, 11, 12 *6*,3; *8*,14.25

Οὐαλλερῖνος: imp. Caes. P. Licinius Valerianus Aug., imperator Romanorum 253–259 (260) *30*,24.26

Οὐεσπασιανός: imp. Caes. Vespasianus Aug., imperator Romanorum 70–79, vastat Hierosolyma *14*,35/36. Imperator *16*, 74; *18*,85

Οὐϊεντανοί, οἱ (prob. Οὐεντιανοί): Veientani, incolae urbis Etruriae, c.n. Veii *6*, 92

Παλαιστίνη: Palestina *16*,78/79; *62*,37; *68*, 20

Πάτμος, ἡ: Patmus, insula Sporadum *18*,15

Παῦλος (1): Paulus apostolus *14*,30

Παῦλος (2) ὁ Σαμοσατεύς: Paulus Samosatenus, episcopus Antiochenus post an. 260; haereseos causa dimissus an. 268 *24*, 10/11

Παφλαγονία: Paphlagonia, regio Asiae praeter litus Ponti Euxini ad meridiem conversum *86*,45

Πέρσης, ὁ: Persa, nomen ethnicum *26*,53; *28*,80.81; *30*,27.28; *34*,23; *36*,40.[41]; *38*, 72.81; *40*,7.9.11.24.25; *48*,45.46.57.58.62. 63; *60*,80; *62*,36; *64*,40.46.50.53.56

Περσικός: Persicus *28*,84; *48*,64

Περσίς (sc. γῆ): Persia *34*,3; *38*,78; *40*,14. 30; *64*,63

Περτίναξ: P. Helvius Pertinax, imperator Romanorum 192–193 *22*,76.87

Πέτρος: Petrus apostolus *14*,29

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Πλακίλα: Aelia Flacilla, uxor Theodosii I, mater Arcadii et Honorii, mortua an. 386 *46*,13/14

Πλάτη (νησίον): Plate insula, hodie Yassi Ada, una ex insulis cui nomen Principum, prope Cpolim *84*,15

Πλάτων: Plato philosophus *52*,37; *88*,7

πόλις vide s.v. Βυζαντίς, Γαλατικός, Κωνσταντῖνος (1)

Πομπίλιος vide s.v. Νόμας

Ποπλίκιος vide s.v. Μινέκιος

Ποπλικόλας: Publicola, cognomen honoris causa Marco Horatio ab autore nostro, revera L. Valerio deditum *6*,9

Πορσίην Λάρος: Lars Porsin(n)a (Porsenna), rex Clusii in Etruria *8*,28. [Canonice scribitur Πορσίνας]. Vide et Πορσῖνος.

Πορσῖνος (= Πορσίην): *8*,32.35

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Πρόβος: Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Probus Aug., imperator Romanorum 276–282. *32*,84.85

Πρόκλος: Proclus philosophus neo-Platonicus 412–487 *52*,37

Πυθαγόρας: Pythagoras philosophus *88*,8

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Ῥάμηλε, τό: oppidum Palestinae, prope Hierosolyma situm *98*,95

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Ῥωμαῖος: (1) Romae incola, Romanus *2*,6. 10.20; *4*,40.48.50.55.67; *6*,72.74.77.93.9; *8*,19.22.23.29.32.39; *10*,50.65.68.77; *28*,85; *36*,44;
(2) civis imperii Romani, Romanus *14*,35. 47; *16*,80; *18*,13.22; *20*,32; *28*,74.11; *36*, 41;
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Ῥωμανός (1) ὁ Ἀβάστακτος: Romanus I Lacapenus, cui cognomen „importunus", quia imperium usurpavit; imp. byz. 920–944 *88*,76/77; *92*,65.67.79.82; *94*,87. 20

Ῥωμανός (2): Romanus II, Constantini VII filius, imp. byz. 959–963. Ei Theophano in matrimonium data *94*,4; imperator *94*, 18.19; filii eius Basilius et Constantinus *96*,50; moritur *96*,57/58; commemoratur *98*,80; *100*,33; *104*,4.5

Ῥωμανός (3): Romanus, Christophori filius, Romani I Lacapeni nepos *92*,76; *94*,86

Ῥώμη: (1) (ἡ πρεσβυτέρα) Ῥώμη, Roma *2*, 1.9.28; *4*,38.52; *6*,78; *8*,35; *10*,57; *16*,81; *20*,51; *22*,60; *34*,25; *36*,30.35; *44*,5; *46*,41; *68*,19.36
(2) (ἡ νέα) Ῥώμη, Constantinopolis *68*, 42; *74*,34

Ῥωμύλος (-λλ-, ms. *4*,57): Romulus, primus rex Romae *2*,3.6.9.13.19.28; *4*,38.39. 48.57.67; *6*,74

Σαβέλλιος: Sabellius, qui doctrinam propagavit Trinitatem Dei unam esse hypostasim, i.e. unam personam sub triplici nomine, Patrem in Vetere, Filium in Novo Testamento, Spiritum Sanctum post descensionem eius super Apostolos. Quae doctrina condemnata est in 2° Conc. Oec. *46*,19

Σαβῖνοι, οἱ: Sabini, tribus vetus in Italia *4*, 52; *8*,38; *10*,50

Σάβορος, Σαβόρας: Sapor (pers. Šāhpuhr) I, rex Persarum 243–273 *28*,81; *30*,27

Σάϊτος: Šahin (Saes), dux exercitus Persarum, ab Heraclio victus *64*,46

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Σάρα: οἱ τῆς Σάρας ἀπόγονοι, i.e. Σαρακηνοί, etymologia quaedam popularis, pro ea quam expectares: οἱ τῆς Ἄγαρ ἀπόγονοι, Ἀγαρηνοί *70*,67

Σαρακηνικός -ή -όν: Saracenus, ἡ Σαρακηνικὴ δυναστεία *100*,3

Σαρακηνός: Saracenus, nomen tribus Arabici *64*,64; *78*,27; *88*,75

Σαραπίων: astrologus sub Caracalla imperatore *24*,16.20

Σάρβαρος: Šahrbaraz, dux exercitus Persarum sub Chosroë rege; victus ab Heraclio *64*,47

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Σαυρομάτης: Sauromates, nomen ethnicum *22*,59; *42*,61

Σεβῆρος (1): Imp. Caes. L. Septimius Severus Pertinax Aug., imperator Romanorum 193–211 *24*,2.3.12.13

Σεβῆρος (2) (Σευῆρος q.v.): Severus, patriarcha Antiochiae 512–518, monophysiticae doctrinae fautor. Post fugam in Aegyptum caput sectae, cui nomen ‚Acephali' *52*,36; *54*,72

Σειρόης: (Kavādh)-Široe, filius et successor Chosroïs II. Patrem suum necat et cum Heraclio paciscitur *64*,61

Σεμπρώνιος vide s.v. Μάρκος (4) Μινέκιος

Σεξτίλιος (ms. Σεξστίλιος): Sextilius. (Revera hoc est nomen gentilicium; auctor confudit mutationem appellationis Augusti ex Octaviano cum nomine mensis Sextilis in Augustum commutato) *10*,75

Σέργιος: Sergius, haereticus doctrinam monotheleticam docens Constantino IV imperatore *70*,49

Σευῆρος vide ad Σεβῆρος (2) *54*,72

Σικελία: Sicilia insula *68*,40; *94*,15

Σικελικός, -ή, -όν: Siciliensis *68*,17

Σικελοί, οἱ: Siculi, tribus vetus in Sicilia *2*, 13

Σίλβεστρος: Silvester Papa Romae 314–315, qui Constantinum Magnum baptizavisse dicitur *36*,30/31

Σίμων ὁ μάγος: Simon Magus, a Philippo diacono baptizatus *12*,9; per miracula sua admirationem apud stultos consequitur *14*,21

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Σταυράκιος: Stauracius, Nicephori I filius. Imperator designatus (811) eodem anno moritur *82*,87.95

Σταῦρος vide app. crit. *84*,2 et s.v. Σάτυρος
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Στύλλιος (sic): = Servius Tullius, rex Romanorum sextus *4*,57; *8*,17
Συκαῖ, αἱ: vicus in conspectu Cpoleos situs (cf. Evagr. *Hist. Eccl.* III 35, p. 135, 5–6) = Galata *72*,4
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ADVERBIA

in -ως

ἀθορύβως *66*,75, αἰφνιδίως *8*,40, ἀκριβῶς *52*,26, ἀκροθιγῶς *84*,13, ἀληθῶς *78*,21, ἄλλως *38*,76; *72*,82; *104*,88, ἀναισθήτως *86*,54, ἀναισχύντως *78*,26, ἀνεπισχέτως *12*,8, ἀνηλεῶς *32*,80, ἀνοσίως *22*,72, ἀπηνῶς *104*,82, ἀπλήστως *38*,4, ἀσυντάκτως *84*,11, ἀφανῶς *106*,33, βασιλικῶς *90*,44, βιαίως *14*,37; *26*,69, γενναίως *14*,39; *32*,68; *44*,87; *56*,5; *72*,85, γοερῶς *104*,87, δεινῶς *18*,95; *30*,19; *104*,73; δεξιῶς *58*,55; *90*,17; δουλοπρεπῶς *72*,78, δυστυχῶς *54*,63; *104*,94, ἐκθύμως *28*,86; *38*,79; ἐκτόπως *88*,6, ἐννόμως *66*,75; ἐξαπιναίως *22*,62/63; *30*,22; *32*,54; *86*,65; ἐξόχως *32*,86; *76*,71; *88*,85; ἑτέρως *56*,1, ἑτοίμως *62*,34; *86*,63; *96*,40; εὐμηχάνως *44*,7; *84*,21; εὐτελῶς *104*,93, εὐφυῶς *102*,41, ἡδέως *34*,90, θαυμασίως *90*,28, ἰδιωτικῶς *62*,19, ἴσως *38*,82, ἰταμῶς (ex coni.) *62*,19, κακῶς *64*,44; *104*,78, κρυφίως *24*,15, λαθραίως *74*,30.36, λαμπρῶς *40*,31; *48*,56; *90*,16.24.31; *98*,76; ὅλως *84*,7, ὁμοίως *86*,50, ὅμως *94*,9, ὀξέως *108*,56, ὁσίως *2*,26, οὕτως *24*,95; *32*,73; *36*,50; *52*,33; *74*,43.46; *92*,80 (3×).81 (2×); *94*,93.20; *96*,34.40; *98*,78; οὕτω *6*,95; *16*,65; *30*,16; *46*,30.33; *62*,16; *68*,10; *86*,72; *88*,74; παρανόμως *4*,67; *24*,24/25; *86*,72; περιφανῶς *56*,12/13, πικρῶς *16*,65; *30*,31, πονηρῶς *32*,79, πρᾴως *86*,52, προδήλως *78*,2, σαφῶς *44*,90; *68*,24; σοφιστικῶς *90*,16, σφοδρῶς *18*,94; *26*,51; *30*,21; *80*,55; ταχέως *10*,79; *44*,83; *60*,72; τέως *34*,18; *50*,12; *76*,76.88; ὑπόπτως *86*,63, χαλεπῶς *64*,44, χαύνως *76*,68

in ως, e participiis derivata

ἀρκούντως *96*,48, ἐπειπόντως (? sic ms.) *104*,78, ἠπειγμένως *24*,15, ὄντως *100*,12

in -ον (acc. sing. N.)

ἀθρόον *24*,94; *38*,73; ἀπηνέστερον *32*,79, ἀρραγέστερον *70*,61, ἀρχικώτερον *108*,50/51, ἀφειδέστερον *72*,82, βιαιότερον *68*,16, βύθιον *42*,62, τὸ δεύτερον *74*,38 (2×).49; ἔλαττον *42*,43; *72*,15; ἑτοιμότερον *86*,63, ἧττον *34*,27, κάλλιον *62*,20, μαλακώτερον *78*,12, μᾶλλον *24*,95; *50*,95; *72*,12; (ms. μάλιστα); *78*,30; μᾶλλόν τι *76*,56, μανικώτερον *66*,2, μόνον *6*,90; *18*,91; *48*,45; *80*,37; οἷον *104*,1; *106*,41; ὀλίγον *66*,94, πλέον *26*,47.50, πλησίον c. gen. *104*,75, πρότερον *6*,1; *12*,87.15; *46*,13; *78*,91; πρῶτον *2*,12; *6*,86; *8*,18.45; *46*,32; *60*,3; *64*,47; *104*,77; *106*,27; τὸ πρῶτον *24*,16; *28*,71; *30*,32; *60*,84; ταχύτερον *44*,84, τοσοῦτον *42*,44; *86*,60, τυραννικώτερον *38*,75, ὕστερον *20*,56; *28*,72/73.90; *30*,26; *60*,84; *62*,8; *70*,56; *88*,76; *88*,6; *92*,66; *96*,39; *98*,83; *106*,42; φιλανθρωπότερον *56*,25, χαροπώτερον *56*,94

alii acc. sing. N.

ἐξεπίτηδες *18*,94, τὸ τάχος *72*,2, ταχύ *22*,91; *40*,8; *56*,8; τέλος *26*,60; *50*,93.15; *64*,56; *92*,84

= dat. sing.

ἀκοῇ *26*,38, δημοσίᾳ *2*,23; *32*,62; κοινῇ *2*,20; *8*,45; κρυφῇ *30*,48, λάθρᾳ *66*,91, μακρῷ *52*,38; *80*,34

= acc. sing. F.

ἄγαν *92*,68, ἄρδην *96*,26, λίαν *68*,14 (οὐ) μακράν *72*,4; *94*,95

in -α (= acc. plur. N.)

τἄλλα 66,3; 82,72, τὰ δ' ἄλλα 82,88; 108,49, ἄριστα 48,46, βραχέα 98,86 (nisi adi.), γενναιότατα 22,70, ἐλεεινότατα 24,94, ἐξοχώτατα 80,43, εὐστοχώτατα 22,70, κάλλιστα 90,40, μάλιστα 16,52; 38,88; 42,69; 48,58 ut adi.; 62,32; 106,39; μανικώτατα 22,69, μυρία 82,78, πλείονα 32,52, τὰ πλείω 64,54/55, πρῶτα (μέν) 8,39; 40,8; 64,67; 66,69; τὰ πρῶτα (μέν) 80,49; 98,67; 104,12, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα 106,40, τελεώτατα 46,33, τυραννικώτατα 2,34, χείριστα 90,40

loci

ἀγχοῦ c. gen. 106,39, ἀγχοῦ που c. gen. 106,45, τὸ ἄνω γένος (= priores) 20,77, τὰς ἄνω Γαλλίας (= ad occidentem spectantes) 36,42, αὐτοῦ που 104,74, ἐγγύς 104,8, εἴσω 100,14 ἐκεῖσε (= illuc) 18,21; 70,74; 104,90; (= ibi) 24,9; 48,71; 76,87; 100,1; 104,91; ἔνθα (*rel.*) 18,16; 20,38.42; 44,79; 102,51, ἐνταῦθα 60,88; 64,45, ἑξῆς 92,79, ἐφεξῆς 8,12; 24,7; καταντικρύ c. gen. 42,59; 54,78, ὁμόσε 40,28, οὗ (ubi, *rel.*) 40,28; 52,30; 70,73; 90,29; 100,13; 102,50.69, πέρα c. gen. 58,51, πέριξ (ut adi.) 2,15, που (*encl.*) 12,16; 100,25; 102,68; 104,74; 106,45

ἄνωθεν 12,19; 16,62; 102,62; 106,38, ἐγγύθεν 12,15; 26,63, ἑκατέρωθεν 104,77, ἐκεῖθεν (= ex eo) 30,31; 90,35; (= inde, unde) 34,8; 42,63; 52,23.42; (= ibi) 42,58; 74,33, ἔνθεν τοι 14,47; 16,53; 16,82; 20,41.50; 30,20.48; 36,62; 38,89; 42,62/63; 48,48/49; 68,15; 70,69; 76,84; 78,15; 80,36; 82,92; 90,27, ἐντεῦθεν (= ex eo) 38,91; (= unde) 42,60; 86,59; 88,86, κἀντεῦθεν 4,61; 6,81; 12,14, ἐπίπροσθεν (c. gen. compar.) 72,81, ὅθεν (= quadecausa) 2,31; 22,89; 24,93; 38,67; 44,3; 92,56; (= unde) 50,2; 60,90; 84,22; 90,20.34, ὄπισθεν c. gen. 26,57, πάντοθεν 64,48, πόρρωθεν 46,27; 106,31

temporis

ἀεί 38,66; 42,64; 50,89.90; 56,24; 78,5; 100,14, ἅπαξ 52,24.28; 70,66; 76,85; 82,90; 92,52, ἄρτι 40,35; 68,42, αὐθημερόν 102,48, αὖθις 4,49; 6,84.91.93.1; 10,51; 26,54; 38,70.82; 48,73; 52,43.47.50; 54,79; 56,23; 72,86; 74,28.34.37; 82,66; 88,90; 90,22.24; 92,74; 94,16; 100,8; 106,18.27; 108,58, αὐθωρόν 104,85, αὐτίκα 16,69.84; 18,11.15; 22,82; 48,57.61; 52,46; 84,14.20.25; 88,81.95; 94,16; 96,38.51; 102,47, ἄφνω 48,70, δή 4,65; 8,15; 10,49; 18,23; 20,42; (22,61); 22,79; 24,15.26.30; 30,29; 34,20.27; 36,45.47; 38,69; 40,31; 42,57; 44,4; 46,33; 48,54.72; 56,19 (2×).21; 70,48.55.57.66; 72,94.8; 76,66; 82,78; 84,24.37; 98,89; 100,19; 102,49; 104,81.91.93; 106,37, εἶτα 12,85; 24,15.30; 26,60; 30,29; 32,71.80; 34,93.20; 36,31.47.53; 38,69; 40,10; 44,3; 46,14.33; 48,67.72; 56,19.20; 58,46; 70,48.66; 72,94; 80,50; 82,78; 86,63; 92,53.73.81; 94,87.95; 104,81.93, εἶθ' 72,92; 74,43.46; 92,79; 96,40; 106,14.27, εἶθ' ὕστερον 38,93; 60,85; 64,47, εἶτ' 40,8; 54,79, ἐνταῦθα 102,57, ἔπειτα 48,56; 62,5; 64,67; 66,69; 84,33, ἔτι 4,45; 16,79; 22,73; 26,39; 38,77; 78,30; 86,70,92,55; 104,12, εὐθύς 4,39.68; 32,88; 36,31; 40,24.36; 46,16; 50,94; 68,39; 78,23; 80,57; 82,95; 96,41; 102,64, ἐφάπαξ 12,91, ἤδη 4,46.56; 36,32; 38,78; 40,25; 44,(86 ms.).86; 58,38; 70,57; 94,1; 104,73, κατόπιν 24,32, μηκέτι 104,76, νῦν 6,86; 48,70; 52,50, νῦν μὲν . . . νῦν δὲ 82,64/65, ὁσάκις 90,21, οὐκέτι 38,82, οὔπω 22,84; 48,74; 50,11; 66,7; 70,74, πάλαι 26,43, πάλιν 76,89; 82,66; 90,23, πολλάκις 2,23; 4,60; 16,58; 20,44; 32,62; 36,50; 48,51; 52,27; 54,71; 56,18; 58,55; 70,61; 76,88; 80,45; 88,91; 100,36; 104,80, ποτε (*encl.*) 32,86; 54,77; 60,81; 62,12; 82,85.90; 88,86; 100,17; 106,25, σχεδόν 22,73; 28,7, τηνικαῦτα 20,51/52; 48,61; 64,39/40; 74,47; 78,10.15; 84,12; 88,79; 98,66, τοσαυτάκις 76,89, τότε 44,4; 54,78; 58,44; 72,95; 92,57.67; 98,89.

modi (et alia)

ἀναφανδόν 54,76; 72,79, ἄντικρυς 26,36; 38,67; 54,57; 80,41.47; 92,63; 94,5, ἄρα 102,58, ἆρα 40,37, γοῦν 4,68; 6,72; 16,57.67; 18,88.5.15; 20,36; 24,14; 40,30; 42,42; 50,5; 82,80; 84,19; 86,39.59; 92,67.69; 94,7; 96,23.33; 102,39, διό 76,66; 92,58, εὖ 90,18; 96,46, ἦ (profecto) 72,89, ἠρέμα 24,6, καίτοι 66,3; 98,63, μάλα 76,83, μέγα (τι) 42,61; 62,36, μέντοι (= μέν) 40,10; 100,17, μέντοιγε 26,44.49; 56,12; 78,6; 80,54; 86,67; 90,15.39; 96,49.57; 104,2, μόλις 24,15, παντάπασιν 22,68; 32,77; 94,22, τοι 32,85; 48,46; 96,36, τοίνυν 6,74.

dictiones adverbiales
ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδέ *36*,52/53, μὴ . . . , ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον *102*,66, οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν . . . ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον *104*,79, οὐκ ἄλλως . . . εἰ μή *38*,76, ἅμα c. dat. *46*,23, ἅμα καὶ *46*,19, ἅμα καὶ . . . καί *24*,34, ἀνὰ μέρος *82*,64, ἅπαξ γάρ ποτε *82*,90, ἀπ' ἐναντίας *22*,78, αὐτοῦ που *104*,74, βραχύ τι *10*,52; *96*,53; *100*,7, κατὰ βραχύ *2*,27, μετὰ βραχύ *34*,4, πρὸς βραχύ *52*,46; *78*,18; ἐς τὸ ἀκριβές *86*,59/60, ἐς τὰ μάλιστα *20*,46, ἔστι δ' ἃ (= interdum) *64*,55, ἔστιν οὗ (= quodammodo) *36*,63, κατ' ἄκρας *52*,26, κατ' ἀρχάς *2*,29, κατ' ἐξαίρετον *20*,51, κατὰ μικρόν *50*,92, μετ' οὐ πολύ *64*,59 (cf. *82*,69), [οὐ] μετ' οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον *98*,83 (cf. *82*,69), μικροῦ δεῖν (= paene) *52*,45; *54*,56; *88*,76.93; (. . . τε . . .) ὁμοῦ καὶ *26*,70; *66*,89; *86*,57; οὐ μὴν . . . ἀλλά *86*,71/72, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ . . . ἀλλ' *64*,41/42, καὶ πάνυ *76*,66, οὐ πάνυ *14*,38/39; *46*,41; οὐ πάνυ τι *76*,84; *100*,29, παρὰ πολύ *48*,53/54; *96*,32, πρὸ ὀλίγου (= paulo ante) *38*,74.

NUMERALIA

1–4
nom. εἷς *30*,49
gen. ἑνός *12*,9; *66*,84; *82*,82
dat. ἑνί *72*,19; *92*,54
acc. μίαν *42*,62, ἓν *18*,23; *24*,34; *92*,54
nom. δύο *4*,64
gen. δύο *56*,91
  δυεῖν *6*,88.4; *8*,24; *34*,1; *40*,18; *62*,28; *68*,31
  δυοῖν *56*,91
dat. δύο *78*,6; *84*,3
  δυσί(ν) *24*,23; *28*,73; *30*,47; *32*,82; *68*,43
acc. δύο *88*,88
cf. Renauld *Et.* 18–19
dat. τρισί(ν) *36*,41; *52*,52
acc. τρεῖς *96*,56, τρία *36*,56; *72*,9
nom. τέσσαρες *66*,7
gen. τεσσάρων *6*,78
acc. τέσσαρας *72*,14, τέσσαρα *80*,31.45
  τέτταρα *4*,44; *38*,74
Renauld *Et.* 19 formas ‚atticas' (-ττ-) non commemorat.

alia
(ἔτη) τρισκαίδεκα *26*,55/56; *56*,21
εἴκοσιν (-ν addito) *20*,54; *68*,26; *86*,68 (haec forma, quam saepius apud Aristophanem invenies, in Pselli operibus non occurrit, ut videtur).
ἑξήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἓξ *24*,1
τρίς, τετράκις *72*,89

Dualis
ἄμφω: ἄμφω οἱ ὕπατοι *8*,42, ἀντήρκεσαν . . . ἄμφω μαχόμενοι *28*,83/84, ἦσαν δὲ ἄμφω . . . ἀξιοθέατοι *106*,29, ἄμφω . . . τῆς βασιλείας ἐξῶσε *70*,44, ἀμφοῖν τοῖν μεροῖν *8*,31, αὐτὸς δὲ μέσος ἀμφοῖν τῶν ἄκρων εἴχετο *28*,79/80, *sed* ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ὑπάτοις *8*,46
δύο: δύο ποτὲ ἀγγελιῶν κομισθεισῶν ἀπὸ δυοῖν στρατοπέδων *56*,91/92, δυεῖν θάτερον ἢ . . . ἢ *62*,28/29
ἀδελφὼ μὲν ἤστην, οὐχ ὁμοτρόπω δέ *32*,84, τὼ δὲ ἄνδρε τούτω καὶ γενναίω ἤστην καὶ συνετώ *106*,19, τούτοιν δὲ βασιλευόντοιν (*gen. abs.*) *28*,6/7

PRONOMINA

personalia

αὐτός saepe pro reflexivo usui est, e. g. κατέτριψε πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ζωὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀκολάστοις ἐπιθυμίαις *12*,5/6, cf. *14*,47; *20*,39; *30*,15 etc.; vide autem et ἑαυτῷ . . . τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμνηστεύετο *14*,43, cf. *20*,42.47 etc.

αὐτός = ipse, e. g. σὺν αὐτῷ οἰκίσκῳ *44*,81, cf. *54*,84 etc.

αὐτός = idem, e. g. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν *56*,92, cf. *56*,95 etc.

(reflex. indir. οἱ *108*,48, *vide comm. ad locum*)

possessiva raro occurrunt

τῆς ⟨ἐμ⟩ῆς κεφαλῆς *34*,11 etc.

τὴν ἡμετέραν πίστιν *12*,87, cf. *98*,86 etc., *sed* κατὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἡμῶν πίστεως *86*,40, τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς δογμάτων *36*,61 cf. *54*,54

indefinita

ἕκαστος *92*,80, ἑκάστου *62*,4 cf. *10*,55.59 etc., *sed* forma vulgari ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθένα *60*,84

ἅτερος *8*,40, θάτερον *62*,28, ἑκατερος *34*,20, cf. *20*,36; *24*,31; *74*,41, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος *16*,51; *20*,26.35; *22*,58; *64*,41; *68*,39; *84*,6, cf. *42*,42; *56*,14, εἴ τις ἄλλος *82*,76, οἷος οὐκ ἄλλος *20*,56, οἷον οὐκ ἄλλος *54*,67

VERBA

Augmentum

ει- ἀνειλκύσθη *102*,60, ἀφείλετο *88*,1, προείλετο *68*,29; *100*,26; *106*,44, περιεῖπε (ἕπω) *50*,84

ἡ- ἠβούλετο *62*,26

— *duplic.*

ὑφεωρᾶτο *100*,25, ἑωράκεισαν *104*,74

ἀπεώσατο *106*,42 *sed* ἐξῶσε *70*,44, ὤθουν, ἀντωθοῦντο *82*,64

ἀντεκατέστησαν *44*,87, κατεδιῄτησαν *6*,92

— *extraord.*

ἠφίει *44*,8; *52*,29, ἠφίεσαν *54*,59

ἑαλώκει *18*,93; *52*,26; *88*,76

— *cum crasi*

προὐβέβλητο *48*,61 cf. *48*,58; *24*,17

— *omissum*

εἴκαζεν *62*,34, ἀπείκαζε *66*,76, εὗρον *30*,29, ἐφεῦρε *70*,46, εὑρέθησαν *8*,19, in ms.: ἐπαναλάμβανε *94*,16, ἐρυθρία *14*,32, ὀνόμαζεν *58*,30, συναναγκάσθη *98*,62, ὑποκρίνετο *4*,60

in plqpf.: καταβεβήκει *66*,93, ἀποδέδεικτο *8*,23, ἐκδεδώκει *90*,48, δεδύνητο *34*,17, κεκίνητο *42*,61; *88*,88, ἀπολελαύκει *24*,25, παραπολελαύκει *26*,70, καταπεπτώκει *96*,34/35, πεπίστευτο *96*,32, κέχωστο *52*,30

Reduplicatio

— *‚attica'*

ἀπολωλέκασι *96*,26/27, ἐπανελήλυθε *68*,42, ἐξεληλύθει *74*,36, κατεληλύθει *98*,62, διενήνοχεν *62*,24, ἐξενηνόχει *20*,37; *90*,14; *94*,11, ἐπενηνεγμένον *102*,43.

ει-

εἰθισμένον *102*,67, εἰργασμένων *60*,90, ἀφειμένος *48*,65, καθειμένον *102*,54, διειληφότες *98*,67, ἀπειλημμένοι *106*,25, ἀντειρήκασι *90*,37, εἰρήκει *34*,9; *40*,21; *56*,95, *sed* ἀνῃρήκει *88*,84, προῃρήκει *16*,73, εἰρηκέναι *96*,35/36, εἰρηκώς *48*,59; *52*,17, εἰρηκότος *82*,82/83, προειρηκότος *86*,47, εἰρημένοις *92*,83, συνειλεγμένον *54*,80, συνειλεγμένοις *70*,74.

— *omissa*
εἰκασμένος *22*,66, ἀπεικονισμένα *94*,9, ἐξεικονισμένον *36*,35, εὐεργετηκότι *94*,88, εὑρηκώς *62*,8; *84*,13, εὕρηνται *94*,7, εὐτύχηκε *52*,48, εὐπορήκασιν (ex coni.) *44*,74/75, ἐξῶσται *30*,51, *sed* ἀπεωσμένον *50*,14, ἐμψυχωμένον *88*,91
in ms.: ἀλλοιομένους *58*,29, ὁμολογημένοις *48*,63, ὀνόμασται *94*,21, καθόπλιστο *12*,7

augmentum pro redupl.
ἐνομοθετήκασιν *10*,56

— *extraordin.*
ἀνηλώκει *88*,94, *sed* κατηναλώκει *22*,73

terminationes
Act.
impf. dualis ἤστην *106*,19
fut. att. ἀκοντιεῖς *60*,75
pf. δέδια *56*,93, γεγονέναι *98*,66, *sed* γεγενῆσθαι *28*,93/94; *90*,25
plqpf. ἐπεπράχει *66*,84
3 pers. plur. plqpf. act. -εσαν et -εισαν
ἐδεδίεσαν *40*,25, ἐμεμήνεσαν *22*,81, ἐπεπήγεσαν *48*,49, ἐγεγόνεισαν *4*,64
(ms. -ησαν); *36*,64, ἑωράκεισαν *104*,74

Med.
aor. vulg. εὕρασθαι *96*,38

Pass.
aor. ἀποκτανθῆναι *6*,95, cf. e. g. Dio Cass. 65,4, Mc. 8,31, Apoc. 9,18, Glyk. 508,17 etc., sed non apud Psellum, Annam Comn.
οἱ ἀποκτανθέντες *60*,87
ἐμπαρέντες < ἐμπείρω *88*,74
aor. II ἐξεκόπησαν *52*,50/51, σφαλείη *56*,23, σφαλείς *56*,22
aor. III ἀπεβίω *52*,30, ἐπιβιούς *54*,63, καταπτάς *50*,84, ἐπιστῆναι *98*,68, sed διαβιώσαντα *52*,6
pf./plqpf. ἵδρυτο (ms. -στο) *42*,60, δεδόσθω *98*,65
fut. ex. (= fut.) τεθνήξεται *24*,18, τεθνήξονται *16*,69 *sed* ἀποθανεῖται *18*,11
εἴσεται < οἶδα *90*,84 (apud Psellum 1× εἰδήσομεν *Scr.Min.* II 98,28 *vide* Böhlig, *Unters.* 82).

Verba in -νυμι
ἀπολλύντας *60*,69, ἀπώλλυε *52*,28, ἐγάννυτο *22*,72/73, δεικνύουσι (-ύασι non est usui) *104*,93, ἐπιδεικνύμενον *106*,42, ἐπιδεικνύμεναι *94*,8, ἐπιδεικνυμένας (ms. -ους)*102*,57, καθείργνυσι *88*,82, μεταμφιέννυσι *102*,45, ἀναζευγνύ⟨ου⟩σι *40*,30, ἐπαναζευγνύντα *28*,92, ῥηγνυμένῳ *62*,34, ἀποσβεννύς *102*,43/44, *sed* καταχωννύει *52*,28

Verba in -μι
προτίθησι *92*,84, προστιθέασιν *68*,25, μεθίστησι *92*,77, *sed* ἱστᾷ *94*,1, καθιστᾷ *20*,53; *46*,21/ *46*,38
ἄνεισι *98*,76
(φημί): impf. ἔφασκε *58*,28

Adiectiva verbalia
ἀποκοπτέον *36*,54/55, λεκτέον *6*,86, περὶ τῶν πρακτέων *54*,68, ῥητέον *8*,12, ἐν τοῖς τολμητέοις *40*,29, φροντιστέον *42*,43
μεθεκτός *92*,82, περίγραπτος *72*,9, ῥητήν (ἡμέραν) *16*,70; *18*,10, συγγνωστός *56*,22, ἀσύγγνωστος *56*,23, τὸ μηδ' ἀκοῇ φορητόν *26*,38, λίαν ψεκτός *68*,14.

Coniugatio periphrastica vel pseudo-periphrastica
ἐλληνίζων ἦν *18*,14, cf. *22*,67–69; *40*,36/37; *66*,87; *74*,26–28.54–55; *88*,77/78; *100*,11; *102*,64/65, sine verb. fin.: e. g. *38*,65–67; *68*,12–14; *78*,8/9; *80*,37–39; *82*,87–90; *84*,4–6.17–19; *102*,67.

Tmesis
ἀνά τε ἐπήδησε *102*,59

SYNTACTICA

Constr. ad synesin
σύμπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στρατιᾶς περιστάντες βασιλέα (αὐτόν sc. = Vespasianus) Ῥωμαίων ἀνηγορεύκασι *16*,79, cf. *26*,69/70; *30*,20/21; *52*,45/46; *54*,79/80; *68*,8–10; *72*,92–2.5–6; *74*,28/29
Subiectis neutrius generis pluralibus verbum finitum frequenter sequitur singulare: τὰ ὕπουλα τῶν ὑποιδημάτων οὐκ ἄλλως τέμνεται, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐξανθήσει *38*,76/77, cf. *54*,55/56; *64*,43/44; *66*,68.85; *92*,74/75; *100*,1 etc.

Ellipsis
ἐν Ἅιδου *54*,58,
ἡ Κωνσταντίνου *88*,87 cf. *68*,16/17
ἡ οἰκουμενικὴ (sc. γῆ) *28*,7

Infinitivi articulo praediti
nom. τὸ γὰρ ἀριστοκρατεῖν . . . ἔννομόν ἐστιν *92*,62/63, cf. *14*,48; *108*,55–59
gen. εὐσεβείας τε ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ ἐπιεικὴς εἶναι *40*,15, cf. *64*,46; *68*,31; *74*,53.55; *98*,78/79; *106*,39
dat. οὓς ἅμα τῷ κρατῆσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς βασιλέας πεποίηκεν *34*,2, cf. *48*,78/*50*,79; *68*,39/40; *74*,24
ἐν τῷ τελευτᾶν *46*,43/44, cf. *10*,81/*12*,82; *20*,33/34; *56*,7; *76*,61; *88*,79/80
δείσας περὶ τῷ θανεῖν *52*,46
ἤδη πρὸς τῷ θανεῖν ὄντα *58*,38
acc. ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν ὁρμῶντα *26*,50/51

Infinitivus ut interiectio

εἰπεῖν δέ ‚ut ita dico' *14*,26, cf. ὡς εἰπεῖν *14*,30, οὕτως εἰπεῖν *24*,95, τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν *108*,51 *sed* ἵνα συνελὼν εἴπω *18*,4 etc.

PRAEPOSITIONES

ἐπί c. dat. = ‚per' ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσι πεντεκαίδεκα *28*,7/8, ἐφ' ἡμέραις . . . μ΄ *88*,88

SERMONES ELEGANTES *VEL* EXQUISITI

12,10 τῆς βδελυρίας αὐτὸν βδελυξάμενος ἐπιβουλεύσας ἀναιρεῖ
28,6 ἐπαχθεῖς τε καὶ ἀπεχθεῖς
44,89 ἀγνόημα δὲ ἀγνοῆσαι τοῦτον ἔλεγε μέγιστον τὴν Ἀρείου δόξαν
54,62/63 Σκιρτὸς ποταμὸς σκιρτήσει κακὰ σκιρτήματα πολίταις
66,91/92 καὶ εἰ μηδὲν μήτε τῆς ἐπινοίας μήτε τῆς ἀπονοίας ἀπώνατο
74,43 συμπατῶν τούτους συνέθλιβεν
78,30 κατεβάπτισε δὲ τοῦτον μᾶλλον ἢ ἐβαπτίσατο
80,60/61 Δέον πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρηνεύειν Εἰρήνην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Κωνσταντῖνον τὴν πρώτην εἰρήνην ποιησαμένους
82,64 ἀνὰ μέρος ὤθουν καὶ ἀντωθοῦντο

82,74–76 Οὗτος ὁ Νικηφόρος οὐκ ἀπὸ τροπαίων βαρβαρικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τροπαίων θεοστυγῶν κατὰ πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν ἔσχε τὸ ὄνομα
84,35–37 Θεόφιλον . . . ἀλλ' οὐ φιλόθεον τοῦτον ἀπεργασάμενος
86,63 ἑτοίμως μὲν βασιλέα ἐποίει, ἑτοιμότερον δὲ καθῄρει
92,60/61 πολυαρχία γάρ, οὐ μοναρχία ἦν τὸ γινόμενον καὶ οὐδὲ ἀριστοκρατία
92,84–*94*,86 και γίνεται πέμπτος ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔμφυτος τῆς ἀρχῆς κληρονόμος οἷον παρήορος
96,25/26 περί τε τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐμεμήνει περί τε τὰ ἱππηλάσια ἐκεχήνει καὶ περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια ἐπεφύκει
98,76–78 και ὃς ἄνεισι λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐπὶ λαμπραῖς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὄψις ἀξιοθεατότατος, ψυχὴ γενναῖα, χρῆμα παντοδαπόν
100,3/4 τῆς μὲν Σαρακηνικῆς δυναστείας ἀφαιρεθέντα, πρὸς δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν μετενεχθέντα ἀρχήν τε καὶ ἐπικρατείαν
100,30 βασιλείας . . . βασίλειαν
104,80/81 θυμοῦ πλήρης γενόμενος πληγὴν καταφέρει τούτου δευτέραν
108,53 καὶ τὴν εὐμένειαν λαμβάνων ἀντεδίδου τὴν εὔνοιαν

SERMONES PROVERBIALES

8,44 ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν
12,3/4 ἐξ ἀλλοτρίων φρεάτων – τοῦτο δὴ τὸ Σολομώντειον – τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀρυόμενος
18,87/88 ἄφθονός τε τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ῥεῦμα ποτάμιον
18,2 ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν σπαργάνων
24,11 (τῆς . . . κακοδοξίας) τοὺς σπινθῆρας ὑπέφλεγον
26,37/38 καὶ τὰ μὲν ποιῶν, τὰ δὲ πάσχων, ἵν' ἐπικαλύψας ἐρῶ (connotatione sexuali)
26,50/51 καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὥσπερ τινὰ πῶλον ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεύειν ὁρμῶντα ἐδάμαζε . . .
28,81/82 ἀνὴρ ὑπερωμίας κατὰ τὸν Σαούλ
32,63/64 ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ τὴν ἀσπίδα μετενεγκεῖν δύνασθαι, ὅ φησιν Ὅμηρος
32,73/74 τύχης, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, γέγονε παρανάλωμα
38,76/77 τὰ ὕπουλα τῶν ὑποιδημάτων οὐκ ἄλλως τέμνεται, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐξανθήσει
38,84/85 ἄκανθα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουλιανὸς τῷ εὐώδει ῥόδῳ . . . παραφυεῖσα
38,94/95 δεῖν ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ καὶ τοῦ μέλιτος γεύεσθαι
46,6/7 τοῖς δὲ πέλεκυς κόπτων πέτραν, τοῖς δὲ πῦρ ἐν ἀκάνθαις, ὅ φησιν ἡ θεία γραφή
54,60 τοὺς θρυλουμένους Γίγαντας
54,65/66 παντοδαπῶν χρῆμα πράξεων ἐναντίων
70,58/59 δεῖν γὰρ ἔφη μὴ τὸν πατέρα ὄφιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γέννημα ἀναιρεῖν
72,90 μετὰ νέφος ὁ ἥλιος
86,49/50 οὗτος οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι μεσότης ἡ δικαιοσύνη ὑπερβολῆς ⟨καὶ⟩ ἐλλείψεως καὶ πᾶσα ὁμοίως ἠθικὴ ἀρετή
86,53 ἀλλὰ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ ἀνοήτῳ ὠμότητι
100,12 ἀλλὰ τὴν μέσην ὁδὸν βαδίζων καὶ ὄντως βασιλικήν

VOCABULARIUM

ἄγαλμα: κάλλους *94*,5
ἀγαλματίας: οἷον ἀγαλματίας τὸ εἶδος pulcherrimus aspectu (ut signum) *102*,37
ἀγενής: ignobilis *94*,5
ἀγεννής: *id.* *12*,14
ἀγχίμαχος: ὅπλοις . . . ἀγχιμάχοις *46*,27
ἄγω: ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν praedari *8*,44
ἀδελφιδῆ: = ἀνεψιά *66*,2

ἁδρός: τὴν ἡλικίαν ἁδρότερος longius in adulescentiam provectus *70*,57
ἀειφυγία: ἀειφυγίαν . . . καταδικάζεται *78*,92; ἀειφυγίᾳ . . . καταδικάζεται *6*,72; ἀειφυγίαν κατεδιῄτησαν *6*,92; exilium perpetuum
ἀθλητής: τοῦ Χριστοῦ *44*,72
ἀθώπευτος: aures adulatoribus non patens *34*,7; *100*,9
αἰδώς, ἡ: γυναικείαν σχηματίσαι αἰδῶ *26*,41; εἰς τὸν τῆς αἰδοῦς πόρον de membro virili *54*,77; τὴν αἰδῶ τῶν ἀρρενοφθόρων τέμνειν *id. 56*,2
ἄκλυστος: λιμέσιν ἀκλύστοις tranquillus *46*,26
ἀκοντίζω: ἀκοντιεῖς *60*,75
ἀκρωτηριάζω: amputare *74*,40
ἄκων: ἄκοντας *72*,84
ἀλαμπής: non illuminatus, in obscuro *50*,6
ἀλιτήριος, ὁ: impius *44*,81; *86*,48
ἀλόγιστος: τύχης . . . πάρεργον καὶ τῆς ἀλογίστου φορᾶς ludibrium . . . caeci impetus *100*,17
ἀμανίτης: boletus *40*,35
ἀμφίβολος: incertus *12*,86; *36*,60; *42*,50; *44*,2; *50*,13; τὸ ἀμφίβολον τῆς γνώμης dissensio *82*,66
ἀμώμητος: παρθένος καὶ θεομήτωρ *86*,48
ἀναγεννάομαι: renascor (per baptisma) *80*,35
ἀναδρομή: proceritas (corporis) *28*,82
ἀνακωχή: intermissio (belli) *48*,64
ἀνανεόω: restituere, redintegrare *8*,18/19; *84*,34
ἀνάπαυλα, ἡ: mora, intervallum *100*,7
ἀνεξικακέω: perferre et pati *94*,91
ἀνεπίσχετος: ἀνεπισχέτως φερόμενος effrenate se gerens *12*,8
ἀνεπίφθονος: nihil odii habens *58*,42
ἀνθαιρέομαι: (τινά τινος) praeferre *44*,6
ἀνιμάομαι: ἀνιμᾶσθαι (ms. -ῆ-) subducere *102*,56
ἀνοηταίνω: insipire *86*,51
ἀνοίκτιστος: immiserabilis *50*,7
ἀνολολύζω: eiulare *104*,87
ἀνταρκέω: sustentare (posse) (vide et ἀπαρκέω) *28*,83; *28*,11
ἀντεπιφέρομαι: ἀντεπηνέχθη se praecipitavit invicem *32*,68 (LSJ nonnisi Timaeum Locr. 102a citat; neque Psellus neque Anna Comn. hoc verbo usi esse videntur. Theophyl. Sim. producit ἀντεπιφέρω IV 16,17; V 11,1 *idem* Psellus *Scr. Min.* II 303,6)
ἀντιπεριέρχομαι: persequi, iuste retribui *24*,22
ἀντιπιστεύω: pro merito mandare *78*,95
ἀντιποιέομαι: τῶν λόγων litteris studere *94*,13
ἀντιφυσάω: vide φυσάω *16*,57
ἀντωπέω: τοῖς βαρβάροις obsistere barbaris *96*,48
ἀπαραίτητος (ex coni.): implacabilis *cf.* δυσπαραίτητος *12*,86
ἀπαράμιλλος: insuperabilis, praestantissimus *96*,51
ἀπαρκέω: sustentare (posse) (vide et ἀνταρκέω) *78*,18
ἀπαρτίζω (ex coni.): ἀπηρτισμένος ἦν perfectus erat *66*,87
ἀπεικάζω: comparare *66*,76
ἀπεικονίζω: συγγράμματα . . . ἀπεικονισμένα fingere, conscribere *94*,9
ἀπειρόκαλος: εἰς τρυφὴν ἀπειρόκαλον in voluptatem incultam *100*,10
ἀποβδελύττομαι: ἀπεβδελύττοντο *vide comm. ad 30*,22
ἀποδειλιάω: μηδὲν ἀποδειλιάσαντα sine metu *96*,35
ἀποκείρομαι: tonderi > tonsuram (monachalem) accipere *82*,95
ἀποκρούω: propellere *46*,5

ἀποκτιννύω: ἀποκτιννύει necare *32*,87; ἀποκτιννύουσιν *vide comm. ad 30*,54; *32*,82
ἀπολακτίζω: ὅπως τοὺς πόδας ἀπολακτίζοιεν *de hostiis morientibus:* quomodo calcitrarent *38*,91
ἀπονίναμαι: οὐδὲν ἀπονάμενον c. gen. *30*,54
ἀποσεμνύνομαι: πρὸς τοῦτον ἀπεσεμνύνετο *hl.* graviorem se praebebat adversus *38*,94
ἀποστάτης, ὁ: qui deficit *106*,15
ἀποτοξεύω: ἀποτοξεύσεις *60*,75
ἀπόφημος: ἀπόφημά τινα ... φθέγγεται aliquot maledicta ... dicit > aliquot infamia proponit *64*,43
ἀπωθέω: propulsare *66*,4
ἄρδην *96*,26
ἀρειανίζω: dogmatibus Arii adhaereo *36*,62
ἀριστεία, ἡ: τὴν Ῥώμην παντοδαπαῖς ἀριστείαις ἐκόσμησε *4*,53
ἀριστεῖος, -ον: ἀριστείων ... στεφάνων (Cf. Psellum, *Const. IX*, LXXXVII 1–2, *Is. Comn.* LXX 24, *Const. X*, III 11) *34*,23
ἁρμόδιος, -α, -ον: ἁρμοδιώτατος γεγονὼς *4*,47
ἀρραγής: ἀρραγέστερον *adv.* indissolubilius *70*,61
ἀρρενομανής: (illicito) amore virorum captus *54*,76
ἀρρητοποιός: nefanda faciens (cf. Psellum, *Scr.Min.* I 137,190) *80*,38
ἀρύομαι: haurire *12*,4
Ἀσκληπιάδαι, οἱ: medici *26*,40
ἀσφαλής: ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ *104*,89
ἀτιμάζω: τοὺς πόδας ἀτιμάσας μέλασιν ὑποδήμασι *64*,49
ἄτοπος: ἄτοπός τις λόγος περιθρυλεῖται *88*,89
αὐθημερόν: eo ipso die *102*,48
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ἀφαιρέω: τῶν παιδογόνων ἀφαιρεῖται μορίων *70*,58
ἄφεσις: ἐς ἀκοντίων ἄφεσιν ars iaculandi *96*,45
ἀφίημι: ἠφίει δὲ βέλη *44*,8; φωνὰς ... ἠφίει *52*,29; οἰκτροτάτας φωνὰς ἠφίεσαν *54*,59
ἀφροδίσια: περί τε τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐμεμήνει deliciae Veneris *96*,25
ἀφυπνόω: οἱ ἑπτὰ παῖδες οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ... ἀφύπνωσαν obdormiverunt *28*,1
βάθρον, τό: ἐκ βάθρων e fundamentis *88*,84
βέλος, τό: missile *44*,8; *72*,18; *94*,91
βίος: τιμήσεις ... βίων census bonorum *8*,16
βοάω: βεβοημένος famosus *16*,76
βρύω: abundare *48*,69; *84*,6
βωλοκόπος: qui glaebas findit *96*,44
γενεά, ἡ: progenies *2*,17; *12*,11
γένειον: barba *68*,43
γεννάω: τῇ γεννησαμένῃ matri *94*,3
γλαφυρός: subtilis *100*,16
γοερῶς: flebile *104*,87
γόης, ὁ: magus *18*,85; *80*,37
γονή, ἡ: progenies *18*,19; *62*,4; *90*,28
γυναικωνῖτις: περὶ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν νενοσηκότι gynaeconitis > sexus muliebris > mulier(es) *54*,87
γύργαθος, ὁ: (τὸν) γύργαθον corbis *102*,54.56
δαπανάω: νόσῳ δαπανηθείς morbo consumptus *2*,27
δεκάζω: corrumpere (indices) *52*,17
δέμω: ἐδείματο *88*,85
δευτερεῖα, τά: locus secundus *92*,79.81/82; *96*,32

δημοσίᾳ: coram publico *2*,23; *32*,62
δημοσιεύω: ἐπὶ πάσης . . . ἀγορᾶς in omnibus foris exponere (corpus) *104*,95
διαγκαλίζομαι: τὸ μακρὸν δόρυ *96*,46 (amplexus) tenere (vide Renauld *Lex*. s.v.)
διακυβερνάω: regimen perducere *98*,59
διαναπαύομαι: conquiescere *100*,7/8
διαπαίζω: διαπαίξας τὴν βασιλείαν imperium ludificans > lusionem imperatoriam ludere *92*,54
διαπερονάω: transfodere *104*,84
διαριθμέω: ἐν διηριθμημένοις καιροῖς in serie occasionum (?) *36*,40
διαρρήγνυμι: διέρρηξε *42*,62, διαρρῆξαι *106*,22
διασείω: concutere *102*,70
διαχειρίζομαι: necare, necari iubere *60*,87
δίδωμι: δεδόσθω μὴ ἐποφθαλμίσαι ταύτην ἀνδρί *98*,65
διεξοδικός: διεξοδικὰ συγγράμματα historiae fusius et ordine tractatae *98*,84
δικαιοπραγέω: iuste agere *86*,51
Διοκλητιανοί, οἱ: imperatores, sicut fuit Diocletianus *28*,89
δίχρωος: bicolor (*de forma cf*. Renauld *Et*. 12) *52*,32
δόξα, ἡ: 1. doctrina a. orthodoxa *38*,65; *42*,51; *44*,2; *46*,26; *54*,53; *80*,50; b. haeretica *44*,82.90; *66*,69; c. (generaliter) *74*,55
2. fama, claritas *76*,57; *84*,5
δόρυ: δόρατι *104*,83; δόρασιν *72*,18
δορυάλωτος: captivus *30*,28; *60*,83
δράσσομαι: τῆς βασιλείας . . . ἐδράξαντο arripere, usurpare *26*,69
δυσπαραίτητος: vix placabilis cf. ἀπαραίτητος *44*,83
δυσσέβεια: impietas, inorthodoxia *52*,35
δυσχεραίνω: moleste ferre *32*,80.85
ἐγγυάομαι: ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα *vide comm. ad 58*,49
ἐγκαθιδρύω: τῇ βασιλείᾳ in throno ponere *50*,14
ἐγκαθορμίζω: ad ancoram deligare (*metaph*.) *46*,26
ἐγχειρίζω: τοὺς οἴακας gubernacula (ecclesiae) tenenda dare *46*,25
εἰσοικίζομαι: uxorem dare alqm alci *94*,4, *sed* uxorem ducere *90*,33
εἴσομαι: sciam, novero (Renauld *Et*. 85 mentionem de hac futuri forma non facit; Psellus *Scr. Min*. II 98,28 usus est εἰδήσομεν (χάριν) *98*,84
εἰσφρέω: εἰσέφρησαν invadere *44*,78
ἐκδίδωμι: ἑαυτὸν κοττάβοις καὶ κύβοις se dedere *90*,48
ἐκθηλύνω: effeminare *18*,18
ἔκκρισις: φυσική *de urina 86*,41; διὰ στόματος *de sputo 38*,3
ἐκτέμνω: exsecare *18*,17
ἐμβόημα: clamor *106*,22
ἐμβριθέομαι (ex coni.): austerum esse. *Vide comm. ad 100*,15
ἐμπομπεύω: gloriari, iactare *66*,5
ἐμφορέομαι: satiari *42*,68
ἑνόω: unire *de natura Christi hypostatica an non 50*,80
ἐξάγιστος: abominandus, abominabilis *14*,25
ἐξαίρω: σοφίας . . . ἣν Πλάτων ἐξῆρε amplificare, fundare *88*,7
ἐξανέψιος: *26*,41; *36*,64
ἐξανθέω: ἄρτι τὸν ἴουλον *trans.: de prima barba 68*,42; πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν *intrans.: de ulcere 38*,77
ἐξαρκέω: sufficere *30*,47; sustinere, parem esse alcui rei *34*,18
ἐξίτηλος: *70*,62
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